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ABACO: BIRTH OF A NEW COUNTRY?

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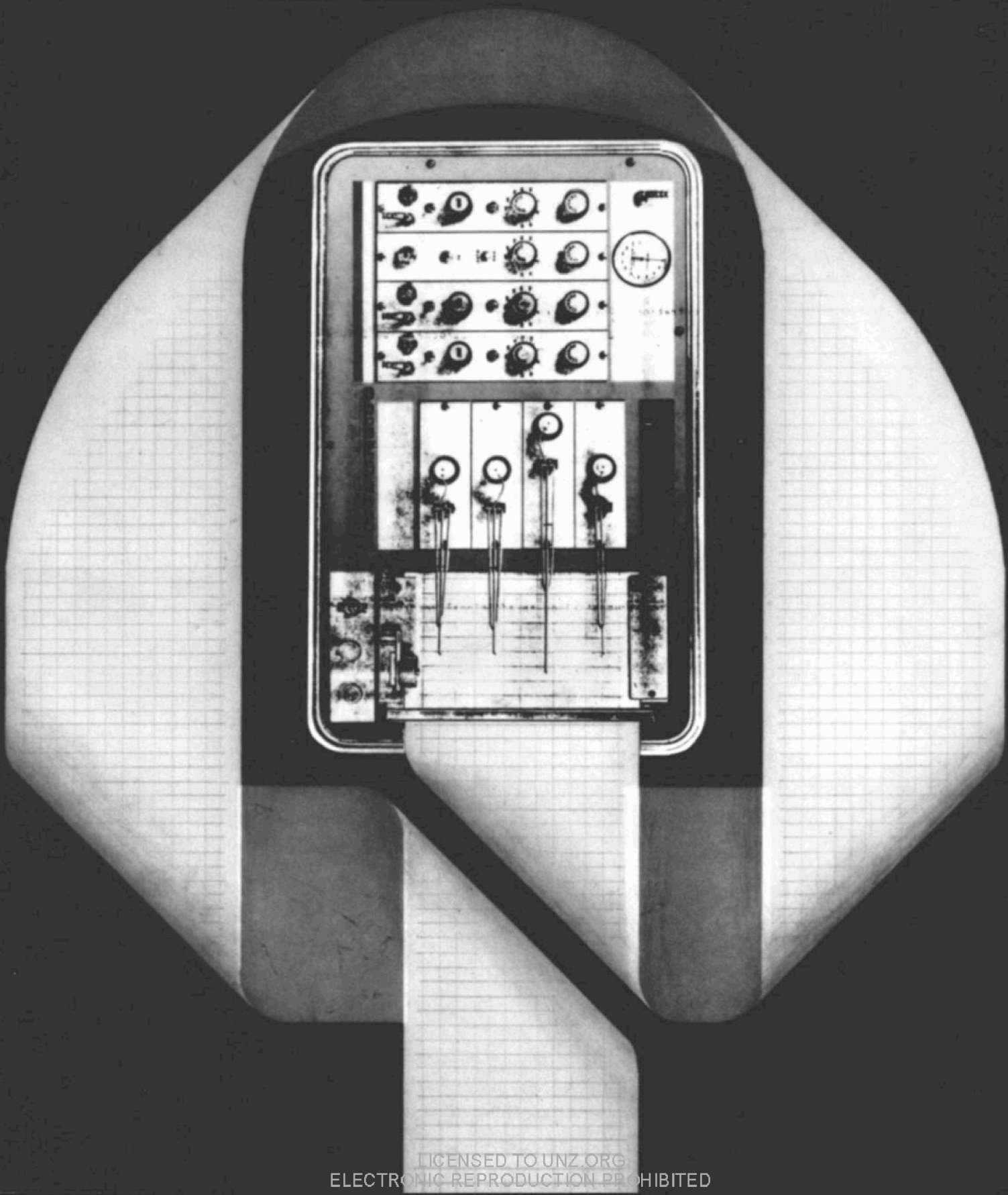

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STRAIGHT TALK FROM THO

A Reason Interview

On a Sunday afternoon last spring, Tibor Machan, senior editor of REASON; Marty Zupan, whose critique of The Myth of Mental Illness *appeared in the August 1973 issue of REASON; and Al Waterman, Professor of Psychology at Hartwick College, Oneonta, New York; set out to interview Dr. Thomas Szasz at his home in Syracuse. What was intended to be an interview on Dr. Szasz's views of psychiatry turned into a fascinating and far-ranging dialogue—with the result that, rather than reiterating the theses of Dr. Szasz's many publications, we were able to develop some of their implications, especially concerning how our use of language influences the way we think about our personal and social "problems."*

For those readers not familiar with Dr. Szasz's often controversial writings, the following brief statement about him should help set the stage for the interview. In 1961, Dr. Szasz published The Myth of Mental Illness—*probably his best known work. In this book, Dr. Szasz has argued that the term "mental illness" is only a metaphor; that the belief in and use of this term, as in contemporary psychiatry and psychology, constitutes a myth; and that involuntary mental hospitalization—supported by the literal concept of mental illness—is an unjustifiable offense against individual liberty. With his assault on involuntary mental hospitalization he took a bold step against the professions of psychiatry and psychology, at least in so far as these professions have supported and continue to support what Dr. Szasz terms "institutional psychiatry." In his subsequent books*—Law, Liberty and Psychiatry, The Ethics of Psychoanalysis, Psychiatric Justice, Ideology and Insanity, The Manufacture of Madness, The Second Sin, *and* The Age of Madness *(an anthology on the history of involuntary mental hospitalization)—he has amplified and enlarged on these themes. He has also published numerous articles. In his more recent work he has addressed himself to the problems of education, medical care, suicide, and drug use, in each case taking a firm stand for individual liberty and against the professional—often medical and psychiatric—infringements of such liberty. (The interested reader may consult previous interviews with Dr. Szasz in* The Humanist, *March/April 1973, and in* Penthouse, *October 1973.)*

In this conversation, we first drew out his views on the drug issue, then went on to the theoretical groundwork underlying his view that there is no such thing as mental illness, and finally debated some of his other, less strictly psychiatric ideas. REASON readers will find this an exceptionally spirited and enlightening exchange.

REASON: Dr. Szasz, you have made clear on many occasions your disagreement with all of the laws prohibiting the use and sale of drugs. I would like to know what you think of an argument put forth by Ernest van den Haag. He maintains that the sale of drugs *cannot* be construed along the same lines as other forms of exchange because by obtaining one sale, the seller obtains a guarantee of future sales. Because of the nature of the substance sold, one obtains a slave so to speak.

SZASZ: I agree with van den Haag in so many ways and on so many issues, and respect him so much, that first I want to make sure he says this; or better, I want to explain why I think this view is mistaken, regardless of who holds it.

REASON: He has said this. Or, if you prefer, assume that someone believes this. Many people do.

SZASZ: Yes, many people do. It's wrong. I hardly know where to begin picking this idea apart. So let me begin with the idea of habituation or addiction which it reflects. That, I assume, is what you mean when you quote whoever says it—that one sale "guarantees" others; that the buyer becomes "enslaved" to the seller?

REASON: You mean you don't believe that heroin is addictive?

SZASZ: Not so fast. It's precisely the word "addictive" that's my quarry, that I want to hunt down. Suppose you give a cigarette to a youngster who has never smoked. He smokes it. Will he enjoy it?

REASON: No.

SZASZ: O.K. Suppose you give him a martini. His first martini. Will he enjoy that?

REASON: Probably not.

SZASZ: Well, I think you can see what I am getting at. Drug *use*—whatever the drug—is like any habit: it must be *learned.* In my view, drug addiction—that is, the habitual use and craving for a drug—is not something that happens to a person unwittingly, against his will; it's something he does to himself, generally by practicing assiduously how to use—and enjoy—a particular substance. The idea that a single experience with a drug—say heroin—makes one a "slave" to it, makes one unable to exist without it, is simply not true. It's what I call "pharmacomythology"—in contrast to pharmacology, which has to do with the real chemical effects of drugs.

REASON: Of course, that also used to be the argument against masturbation; that if you do it once, you can never stop, you can never again control yourself.

SZASZ: Yes, and also about other forms of sexual

THOMAS SZASZ

activity—homosexual and heterosexual. Now, it's about heroin, and amphetamines, and barbiturates, and so on. The sexual mythology and the pharmacological mythology behind these fantasies is that these acts, drugs, experiences, whatever, somehow "contain" such immense, unbelievable "pleasures" that no ordinary person exposed to them can resist their lure. The Circe and Lorelei legends updated—aren't they?

REASON: So what about the free market question? Do you think heroin and other so-called dangerous drugs could be sold just as—as you yourself have put it—baby food?

SZASZ: Why not? I will be glad to explain why I support the free market approach to drugs—as I do to nearly everything else—but first I want to suggest that the answer to this question is, or seems to me, obvious; it could be obvious to anyone who wants to think about it for a moment.

REASON: To press your critics' points a bit further, wouldn't people abuse it or misuse it?

SZASZ: What do you mean that people would "abuse" drugs? How? By giving themselves pleasure? Should that be forbidden?

REASON: "By killing themselves" is the standard reply here.

SZASZ: Should that be forbidden? Or should the means used for committing suicide be outlawed? How about outlawing tall buildings, then? Or electricity? Or ropes? What is there that you can't kill yourself with? Maybe ping pong balls!

REASON: Again the point is often raised about taking an accidental overdose? That's a risk with heroin, isn't it?

SZASZ: Sure it is. But a free market in heroin doesn't compel anyone to take heroin any more than a free market in alcohol or cigarettes or rat poison compels anyone to use these substances; and insofar as a person wants to use them, he is of course expected to know how to use them. It's no more difficult to learn the proper dose of heroin than it is to learn the proper dose of aspirin or Ex-lax. I just don't believe these are real problems. They are rationalizations, justifications for the prohibitory policies we have. After all, we live in a capitalist country, and yet free trade in gold is prohibited. You certainly can't attribute *that* to the pharmacological properties of gold.

REASON: Well, then, how do *you* explain our current drug policies?

SZASZ: I hope you will read my next book, which deals with the subject of why people use and avoid certain drugs, and why people promote and prohibit certain drugs. Its title is *Ceremonial Chemistry;* its subtitle, "The Ritual Persecution of Drugs, Addicts, and Pushers," explains, I hope, something about what I think the problem is, as against what the politicians and psychiatrists who profit from the war on drugs say it is.

REASON: You mean that people who use illicit drugs are persecuted, like a persecuted minority?

SZASZ: Exactly. There is quite a bit more to it—why we approve of some drugs, like alcohol and nicotine, and disapprove of others, like heroin and marijuana—but the persecution of the illicit drug, drug user, and drug seller is a basic theme.

REASON: Can you explain this further?

SZASZ: I don't know if I can improve on what I have said, and on what you have said. The problem is too complex, too rich for an interview. But I can talk about it a little more.

REASON: All right. Certainly, people who use or sell illegal drugs are not treated very nicely. I assume you have lots to say about that in your book.

SZASZ: Indeed, I do. I compare the current persecution of drug abusers to the former persecution of "self-abusers," or people who masturbated; and, more generally, I compare their mistreatment with the mistreatment of the so-called mentally ill.

REASON: For example?

SZASZ: Well, here is an obvious point. Anyone can confirm it, or refute it, for himself. If someone who

has more authority or power than you do wants to pin a nasty label on you, and wants to justify this by what drug you take, there is no use telling him that you are not taking it: he will pin the label on you, and say that you are lying. There is also no use telling him that the drug you take is harmless: he will pin the label on you, and say that you are misguiding the young. Worst of all, there is no use telling him that it's none of his business what drug you take: he will pin the label on you, and say that you are a menace to civilized society. What you must tell a person who wants to stigmatize you because of the drug you take is not that the *drug is harmless* but that *he is harmful.* To do that successfully, you must have more prestige or power or both than your would-be stigmatizer has. If you don't, the more "innocent" you and your drug are, and the more valid your arguments are, the more you will inflame your adversary's passion to defame and invalidate you.

REASON: That might be true for marijuana versus tobacco.

SZASZ: It's probably even more true for opium versus alcohol. Opium is one of the safest and most beneficent substances ever discovered by man. Our crusade against opium is a veritable religious war. That this is so, is I hope reasonably plausible to someone who bothers to think about it; why it is so, that is something I would rather not go into now—it's too complicated. I try to explain it in *Ceremonial Chemistry.*

REASON: In other words, you consider the drug addicts and drug pushers as scapegoats?

SZASZ: Exactly. Did you know what scapegoats were called in ancient Greece? *Pharmakoi!* That's the root from which words like "pharmacology" and "pharmaceuticals" come from. The original religious-therapeutic act was the sacrifice of scapegoats—of human scapegoats.

REASON: I suppose then that you think the way to regulate drug use is by means of self-control; each person must exercise care and caution about what he uses and how he uses it?

SZASZ: Yes. The issue is not drugs and drug abuse, but temptation and temperance.

REASON: Temperance? That's a nice old-fashioned word.

SZASZ: I am trying to bring it back to life. It's been debauched, like so many words pertaining to moral conduct. Let me tell you a little story about this, as it relates to drugs, and especially alcohol.

Traditionally, until late into the nineteenth century, "temperance" was an admirable human trait; it was a trait which a person possessed and displayed if he practiced certain habits *in moderation;* typically, if he used liquor in moderation, rather than to excess—which was considered to be harmful and intemperate. The maniacs who have been waging war on alcohol have ruined not only many a good bottle of liquor, but also the word "temperance." How? By calling their zealous efforts to control not just themselves but everyone else they could lay their hands on the "Temperance Movement." Soon after these busybodies started their good works, the word "temperance" ceased to mean moderation and instead came to mean complete abstinence from, or avoidance of, the disapproved habit or substance. By the turn of the century, "temperance" no longer referred to the habits of a person but referred instead to the speaker's self-justification for his intemperate prohibition of all those habits and substances which he or she disliked. It's a fascinating story. I am trying to suggest here—and that's all I can do—why it was that many of the same people who were passionately against slavery were also against smoking and drinking.

REASON: This might be a good point at which to get into your views on psychiatry. You have objected to psychiatry, and the mental health professions generally, because much of what psychiatrists do is "do-gooding"—helping people who don't ask for psychiatric help and don't want psychiatric help. But what about those who do?

SZASZ: I have no objection to voluntary psychiatry or psychotherapy. I myself practice what other people call "psychotherapy" or "psychoanalysis." I think it would be more honest to call it "conversation"; I prefer to call it that.

REASON: Then you would not consider yourself an antipsychiatrist?

SZASZ: Certainly not. I have no control over what other people consider me or call me. I have been called much worse things. Though I think "antipsychiatry" is a pretty stupid term. I emphasize this, because language is important to me, as it must be to anyone who takes human affairs seriously.

REASON: Do you resent the question?

SZASZ: No, not the question. But I do resent being called an antipsychiatrist. Why? For the same reason as a person opposed to rape but not to sexual activities between consenting adults would resent being called an "antisexualist." I oppose involuntary psychiatry, the "rape" of the patient by the psychiatrist; but I do not oppose voluntary psychiatry, psychiatric activities between consenting adults.

Of course, psychiatric activities between consenting adults, just as sexual activities between them, may

end disastrously for one or both parties. But that, to my mind, does not justify condemning them in the same breath with psychiatric activities founded on force and fraud; or confusing those who are opposed to force and fraud with those who are opposed to psychiatry and sex.

REASON: Well, this certainly seems like an important distinction. In other words, you analogize rape with involuntary psychiatry, and "making love" with voluntary psychiatry?

SZASZ: Yes. But I try to do, to say, more than that. I try to show how the *language* of accepted academic—traditional—psychiatry deceives us, because it does not allow us to distinguish between these two antithetical forms of psychiatric interventions. It's as if rapists controlled the language of sexual relations and used the term "making love" both for making love and for rape.

REASON: And how do the antipsychiatrists add to this confusion?

SZASZ: In several ways. First, by assenting to the proposition that all of psychiatry is equally bad: that's implicit in the term "antipsychiatry." Second, by adopting my view that, for example, schizophrenia is not a bona fide disease, and then offering their own form of "therapy" and "cure" for it: that, implicitly, negates the claim that what ails the alleged patient is not a disease. Third, by insisting that although mental patients are not sick, society is: that's merely inverting the despicable psychiatric name-calling.

"Should the means used for committing suicide be outlawed? How about outlawing tall buildings then? Or electricity? Or ropes?"

REASON: With your emphasis on the importance of language, it's not hard to appreciate why you feel these are important distinctions. I take it this, then, is why you are not against mental hospitals or mental hosptialization?

SZASZ: Right. I don't think mental hospitals are nice places to be in. I don't particularly like armies or monasteries, either. However, the issue is not what I, or someone else, likes or dislikes, but the use and avoidance of coercion in areas that are, after all, matters of private morality. If someone wants to retreat to a mental hospital or monastery, why shouldn't he be allowed to do so? The important thing is that those who run such institutions should not have the power to recruit unwilling clients or inmates and should not be able to prevent the departure of persons who have come to them for help.

REASON: But your views against psychiatry go further than merely objecting to involuntary mental health practices.

SZASZ: You are right. My objections to psychiatry —and I shall use this term inclusively to refer to all the so-called mental health professions—are really two-pronged: one has to do with liberty, the other with language. Liberty and language—these are two of the most important things in life, as far as I am concerned.

REASON: Can you elaborate?

SZASZ: We have touched already on my objection to psychiatry stemming from the value I place on individual freedom: involuntary psychiatric interventions are incompatible with the ethic of a free society—and even more incompatible, of course, with the libertarian ethic.

REASON: That's clear enough. Though it's interesting and surprising that libertarians haven't risen up against this enemy sooner. People have been locked up by psychiatrists for a good long time. But there is no need to belabor this. What about your other objection to psychiatry, the one stemming from the importance you attribute to language?

SZASZ: As you know, I have showed, long ago, that the term "mental illness" is a metaphor. If a person has a lousy liver, he has a literal disease—for example, infectious hepatitis. But if he has a lousy love life, then he has a metaphorical disease—for example, impotence. Of course, things like impotence, or an unhappy marriage, or fear of having children, and so forth might make people uncomfortable, sick as it were. But these sorts of sicknesses are metaphorical. I can't really overemphasize this point. We often use the word "sick" metaphorically. When there is a high rate of inflation or unemployment, people say that the economy is sick. But they don't try to cure it by asking for the help of physicians or by taking drugs. But when personal problems are labeled as illnesses—mental illnesses—then the metaphor is taken literally.

REASON: Yes, but what has this to do with your objection to psychiatry?

SZASZ: What? Everything. Psychiatry is defined—just look at Webster's or any textbook of psychiatry —as the study, diagnosis, and treatment of mental diseases. What, then, is psychiatry if there are no mental diseases?

REASON: What you are saying is that the subject matter of psychiatry is not what psychiatrists generally claim it is—that is mental illness and its treatment—but that it is something else. What?

SZASZ: That's obvious: how people live, what troubles them, what they value and don't value, how they gain and lose self-esteem; in general, human conflict. In a sense, the subject matter of psychiatry is the same as that of religion, of what used to be called moral philosophy, of what the great dramatists and novelists of all ages have written about.

REASON: What do you mean that psychiatry is like religion or that it is a religion?

SZASZ: It is *like* a religion; and *it is,* in fact, a religion; or perhaps I should say, it is several religions. My objection to psychiatry on the ground of mislabeling—a strategic kind of mislabeling—is similar to the objection one could make against theology. What is theology? *Theos* is Greek for God, and *logos* means word or reason. So theology is the study of God, the knowledge of God and His will, and so on. Where does this leave the atheist, or the person who is broadminded and isn't sure which God or gods he is supposed to study—the Greek, the Jewish, the Roman Catholic . . .? You see my point?

REASON: You mean that theology is ostensibly the study of God, but is actually the justification, in the name of God, of certain religious ideas and rules of conduct?

SZASZ: Exactly. And in the same way, psychiatry is ostensibly the study of mental illness, but is actually the justification, in the name of mental health or psychiatric treatment, of certain psychiatric ideas and rules of conduct.

REASON: Why is this business of mislabeling so important in your view of psychiatry?

SZASZ: Because, in a very fundamental sense, I believe that much of what psychiatry is all about—both in the way of what so-called patients do and what so-called psychiatrists do—has to do with mislabeling, with the misuse of language. Often quite simply with lies.

REASON: Lies?

SZASZ: Yes, lies. You know that I like to think up short statements, aphorisms, the sorts of things I published in *The Second Sin.* I recently thought of a new "definition"—you must put definition between quotation marks!—of psychiatry. It goes like this.

The subject matter of psychiatry is neither minds nor diseases, but lies—the "patient's" and the "psychiatrist's." These lies begin with the names of the participants in the transaction—the designation of one party as "patient" even though he is not ill, and of the other party as "therapist" even though he is not treating any illness; they continue with the lies that comprise the subject matter of the discipline—the psychiatric "diagnoses," "prognoses," and "treatments"; and they end with the lies that, like shadows, follow the ex-mental patients through the rest of their lives—the records of denigrations called "depression," "schizophrenia," and what not, and of the imprisonments called "hospitalization." Accordingly, if we wished to give psychiatry an honest name, we should call it "mendacitology"—the study of lies.

> *"What you must tell a person who wants to stigmatize you because of the drug you take is not that the* drug is harmless *but that* he is harmful."

REASON: How do you refer to what *you* do? Isn't there anything that psychiatrists and psychologists do that could be considered scientific, or as part of a science?

SZASZ: Let's go slowly. Psychiatrists and psychologists do countless things—from studying Greek myths as Freud and Jung did, to studying molecules and monkeys, as some contemporary workers who consider themselves psychiatrists do. I am not making generalizations or statements about *all* these activities. I do think, however, that calling all these diverse things—all these heterogeneous ideas and interventions—"psychiatry" is itself a mischievous and misleading way to use language.

REASON: All right. Let's narrow it down. Let me ask you this. There are many people who go to psychiatrists for specific problems. Such a person might say: "Doctor, I am nervous. I get up in the morning and I feel I just can't do my job. I sweat when I meet people. I don't know what to do about it. I am a decent person. I am not trying to evade my responsibilities, but something is wrong. Can you help me?" You call these complaints, these sorts of things, "problems in living," but surely they are not the same kinds of problems in living as one has with one's budget, or what kind of furniture one should buy?

SZASZ: No, they are not the *same* kinds of problems as one has with one's budget, but they are *similar* to them. This hypothetical person has some problems, conflicts, difficulties—all these terms may be appropriate—the exact nature of which we don't know yet. Only he does. We have to talk to him and find out what bothers him. Perhaps he doesn't like his wife, or is afraid of getting old, or God knows what. People

have, and can dream up, a great variety of things to worry about. I contend that these problems are not diseases—though, of course, they can lead to or "cause" diseases, but that's another matter.

REASON: You say these are moral problems?

SZASZ: I use that term broadly, to distinguish certain human problems from medical problems. I can't help but insist that disagreements are not diseases.

REASON: Would you call these problems "psychological"? What criteria can one use to determine whether a person has such problems? Whether he is living successfully?

SZASZ: I will have to pick at that question. First, I have no objection to calling such personal, human problems "psychological problems." But I am afraid of the positivistic connotations that go with this term; of the idea that the psychologist studies your mind and mental problems, just as the nephrologist studies your kidney and renal problems. I don't like that. Secondly, I don't like the implication or the consequence of this sort of way of looking at the situation: that is, asking for "criteria" of problems in living, rather than asking who complains to whom about what.

REASON: What do you mean?

SZASZ: I mean that when you say that "Jones has a problem in living"—or, for that matter, that "Jones is mentally ill"—I want to know whether Jones thinks so, whether his wife thinks so, whether his psychiatrist thinks so, or just who thinks so—and why. In psychiatry, before we discuss *what the problem is* and *how we should solve it,* we should, I think, discuss *who defines the problem* and *why he defines it as he does.*

REASON: Don't you think there are people who are *not* living successfully; who, if you asked them, would say that they *are?*

SZASZ: You mean people who are not living successfully according to *your* judgment? or mine? or whose?

REASON: No. Who aren't living successfully *as people.*

SZASZ: Here we part company. I insist that the statement that someone is not living successfully implies that someone is making a judgment about that person's life style. I want to know who that person is. I will not budge until I know. Because that statement is not just an assertion about the subject, it's also a self-revelation about the speaker.

REASON: You mean no objective statements can be made about people?

SZASZ: Not quite. But not the sort you were talking about. I can say: "This couch is black." Assuming that it's jet black, rather than dark grey, most people will agree. Similarly, I can say: "This man is fat." Assuming that he is very obese, rather than just a little overweight, again most people will agree. But you were talking about how a person should live; what values he should hold; at least that's how I understood the earlier questions.

REASON: Why can't this scientific approach be applied to human beings? There are couches and there are human beings.

SZASZ: Come now. Couches are things. Human beings are persons. Couches don't think, don't have life styles; they don't have any ideas what color they should be—but people get quite excited about what values they should hold.

REASON: But there are some people who still think the world is flat. We don't therefore change our view of the globe. There are a lot of people now who say that the best way to live life is by transcendental meditation. That doesn't suffice as a good reason for thinking that that *is* the best way to live one's life.

SZASZ: I have no trouble with such questions or problems. It's just a matter of keeping one's language clean. A statement about the world is an assertion. It's like saying: "The door is white." It may be true or false. How we test which it is, and so forth—all that's obvious. And even if a statement is obviously false, people may still want to believe that it's true. That's their privilege. Now, the business about how people should live—whether by transcendental meditation, or psychoanalysis, or Christian Science, or Zionism, or libertarianism—that's a matter of recom-

mendation. It's a prescription, not a description. It's like saying: "Please close the door!" If you say that, I know that you want the door closed. You like it closed. Whether I like it closed is an altogether different matter.

REASON: You say that my question comes down to what people think about themselves; about how they want to live and about how they want others to live. Can't people be wrong when they talk about themselves?

SZASZ: You are using the word "wrong" in a context, in a way, that I wouldn't. If a man tells you: "Please close the door," can you say that he is wrong? Not really. You must say either: "Yes, I will," or "No, I won't." You comply with his request or you reject it. In what sense can he be "wrong"? How can his statement—which is not an assertion!—be wrong?

REASON: But can transcendental meditation be equated with closing a door? What I am getting at is the belief, which many people share, that if human beings abide by some particular doctrine, they will be more successful, have a better existence, *as* members of that species.

SZASZ: I don't know how to deal with that proposition. It strikes me as a moral tautology. Obviously, if you are going to practice transcendental meditation, you are not going to be a better physicist.

REASON: But we are not talking about being a better physicist, or better whatever, but about being a successful human being in the Aristotelian sense of living one's life.

SZASZ: That's circular. If you want to be a better person in the Aristotelian sense, then clearly you have to do what Aristotle tells you. And further, you would have to convince yourself that Aristotle knows what it means—*really* means—to be a human being better than anyone else does.

REASON: You seem uncompromisingly opposed to the idea that psychiatry and psychology are sciences. Is this because they are prescriptive and control people? Suppose all that could be eliminated?

SZASZ: You are right. I don't think psychiatry and psychology are sciences basically because they are prescriptive and controlling. I don't see what would be left if you eliminated all that.

REASON: But aren't you going too far? Look, suppose I had a friend who asked me: "I'd like to find someone who could help me with my problems in living." And I'd say :"Hey, I know this butcher, he likes to talk to people, why don't you go and see him." And Marty says: "That's irresponsible. Send him to Dr. Szasz. Dr. Szasz has been delving into these things for years." I say: "That's just a preference. He likes to do that. The butcher also likes to do it. Who cares? Butcher, Dr. Szasz, it makes no difference. Go to the butcher. It's cheaper."

"I myself practice what other people call 'psychotherapy' or 'psychoanalysis.' I think it would be more honest to call it 'conversation.' "

SZASZ: (Laughter) Your question is good—and loaded: it implies that there are no skills in human relations. I didn't say that and I don't believe that. I am better at talking to people with certain kinds of problems; and the butcher is better at chopping meat.

REASON: That sounds very close—that is, on the verge of science. Skill.

SZASZ: It may sound close to you. It sounds far away to me. Bob Hope has a skill. He is good at telling jokes. Even better than you and I. Is telling jokes a science? Skill is the quality of an act; a way of doing things; almost everything that can be done, can be done skillfully or clumsily.

REASON: That's a good point. You say that psychotherapy is a special sort of conversation which can be done well or poorly, skillfully or unskillfully.

SZASZ: Exactly. Psychotherapy—individual psychotherapy—is simply two people listening and talking to each other. For a certain purpose. It's like playing bridge or golf, like swimming or climbing mountains or driving cars. These are all skills that some persons have more of and others have less of.

REASON: It seems to me, however, that where there is skill, one can scratch and find someone who studies the thing with which the skill is concerned. If there is something objective about being skillful with jokes, there needs to be something objective about the subject matter of jokes—humor. It seems that you want to deny that there is such a thing as uniformity, universality about the subject matter of problems in living.

SZASZ: No, I am not denying that. I am drawing a sharper distinction than you between the skill, the exercise of the skill on the one hand—and on the other hand, talking about the skill, speculating about it, making its study into an abstract subject. Driving a

car is not a science; knowing how to build one is, or is based on the use of scientific discoveries and principles.

REASON: All right, then as long as you are willing to talk about problems in living as a subject matter about certain skills, you must agree that, as a subject matter, problems in living become a part of science; a field of study in which one can identify principles?

SZASZ: With that I agree. Indeed, I have said that if we agree that the subject matter of psychiatry and psychology is problems in living—of the sorts we have talked about—then psychiatry and psychology become simply aspects or branches of religion and the social sciences.

REASON: Now that we are this far, perhaps we could sound you out on a definition of mental health which seems plausible. One idea is that the standard for mental health or illness is the extent to which the functioning of the person's consciousness is impeded or obstructed, since Man's mind is his unique means to survival.

SZASZ: Here we go again. Whether one should live "consciously" or by blindly submitting to authorities —religious or political or medical—these are moral choices. Why do you want to call what you think is the right way to live "mentally healthy"? Why not just say that you believe it is the right way?

REASON: Because we can show that being one way is worse than being another way.

SZASZ: Worse in what sense?

REASON: In the sense that one will report oneself to be worse off; for example, in feeling more troubled, being in more conflict, more unsatisfied, and so forth, than someone else who does not act on the basis of that outlook on life. It's, as some would put it, an "empirical" view.

"In a sense, the subject matter of psychiatry is the same as that of religion, of what used to be called moral philosophy."

SZASZ: You say that "unimpeded" or "unobstructed consciousness" is the criterion for judging mental health, and that living in such a highly conscious—responsive and responsible—way is empirically better than others. Well, I like the value you endorse. You know that. But I don't like calling it "mentally healthy" and I disagree completely that a life-style based on this value can be shown to be empirically superior to others. For one thing, such a view makes all religions into mental illnesses. *I* just can't countenance anything like that.

REASON: That may be so. A lot of people may be mentally ill as far as I am concerned. I don't find it very strange that I would want to call many people immoral too, and if that means that they are mentally ill, so be it.

SZASZ: Well, here we disagree. You want to call those who live badly, by your standards, mentally ill. The chances are that those who think you live badly, by their standards, will be only too happy to reciprocate and call you mentally ill. I don't like this sort of psychiatric name-calling. I prefer saying these things in plain English.

REASON: I am defending the idea—giving it a run for the money—that there is such a thing as a standard of health pertaining to the use of one's mental faculties. What is different here from health in the other medical areas is that in the conduct of this faculty, one has a volitional role. All the things to which you object are the results of this important difference being ignored. But all that does not suffice to establish that there is *no* proper and improper functioning of the mental faculties.

SZASZ: We always come back to this issue of the volitional versus the nonvolitional—of an action versus a happening. If you want to emphasize the similarities between these two classes of phenomena; and if you want to metaphorize the volitional as if it were nonvolitional—then you will try to preserve the vocabulary and imagery of mental health and mental illness. Otherwise, you'll want to reject this approach. Let me offer one more example—or analogy—to show

what I think the problem is that we keep coming back to.

The central epistemological problem of psychiatry is: What is mental illness? or What is a psychiatric patient? These questions come down to the distinction between *playing a role* and *occupying a role.*

A child plays at being father or fireman, detective or doctor; certain adults occupy these roles. A man plays Hamlet or Lear, but occupies the role of actor.

Until the nineteenth century, a person with, say, tabes dorsalis—displaying the limitations of the lesions of advanced neurosyphilis—occupied the role of patient and was called "sick"; whereas a person who pretended to be sick—displaying the limitations of the symptoms of neuromuscular disease—played the role of patient and was called a "malingerer."

Modern psychiatry was born when persons who played the sick role were declared to be occupying it; when, in other words, their *medical performances* were declared to be *mental diseases.*

REASON: One of the things about your comparison of mental illness with a performance is the idea of pretense. But mental illness does not pretend to be the same kind of thing, in all respects, as physical illness. It trades on the meaning of illness as something inappropriate to the organism's functioning.

SZASZ: We are still hung up on the analogical use of language. Mental illness cannot pretend to be anything. But people who claim to have mental illness, or who claim that other people have mental illnesses, can and do pretend—if you like—that certain kinds of conduct are *like* diseases or should be treated *like* diseases.

REASON: Clearly, the proper use of language and the examination of how language is used are very important in your way of looking at psychiatry and the problems it deals with. Why is that?

SZASZ: For many reasons. One is that psychiatry and psychotherapy are principally about what people say to each other. To me, that's a simple fact which people ignore at their own peril. Another is that I regard the power to define things—especially the nature and quality of human behavior, as good or bad, guilty or not guilty, sane or insane, and so forth—as basic political acts that make use of, and depend on, language.

REASON: And you say that psychiatry and psychology, the languages these disciplines use and foster, are shot through with inappropriate and inexplicit metaphors.

SZASZ: Yes, indeed. That's why I think our first task is to penetrate behind the veil of this psychiatric jargon. Examples are all around us. Even some of the questions you asked me have rested on such metaphorical uses of words. I didn't want to pick at them constantly. Here is an obvious example of the sort of thing that makes me say that we should scrutinize our psychiatric language rather than keep looking for answers to problems framed in this language.

When you say that someone has no guts, you mean that he is a coward. You wouldn't try to treat him for his "gutlessness" with a "gut transplant," would you? Suppose you hear someone say that he or she has had a nervous breakdown. What does that mean? It means that this person, who has had the "nervous breakdown," doesn't accept responsibility for the consequences of his or her ill-chosen or unlucky actions. And yet you may consider it entirely reasonable—certainly most people consider it entirely reasonable—that this person is treated as a "sick patient" with drugs. What are these drugs supposed to do? "Strengthen" his "broken-down nervous system"? We are simply adrift in a sea of literalized metaphors.

"You can organize against freedom, but you can't really organize for it. The best you can do is to organize for conditions that make freedom possible."

REASON: You have said or implied that this metaphoric use of language is something that's fostered by psychiatrists; that they do this because it's to their advantage.

SZASZ: Of course. Why should anybody say anything? I always like to assume, other things being equal, that people say things—and believe things—because, in some way, it's to their advantage. It makes them feel good, or it makes them feel honest, or it enriches them, or something like that.

REASON: Still, analogies or metaphors are usually based on actual similarities. You yourself have pointed out that so-called hysterics resemble people with neurological diseases.

SZASZ: We can't go into this in enough detail here, but let me enlarge on it a little. My main interest now is to explore the linguistic aspects of psychiatry and related fields. I have put much of what I think about these things into *The Second Sin.*

I believe it's important that we distinguish between two kinds of metaphors. One is based on actual similarity, on similarity in appearance; the other is based on a similarity of intention, on wanting to treat one thing as we do another.

Using metaphor means primarily giving something a name that belongs to something else—for example, calling a remark "cutting" or a person "foxy." This is

a metaphor based on observable similarities. But there is another kind of metaphor, one based on a similarity not of appearance but of intention—for example, calling bread and wine the Body and Blood of Jesus, or calling a disagreement a disease. In the latter case, we use metaphor not to identify a similarity seemingly inherent in the objects, but to create a similarity between them for our own strategic purposes: by treating bread as if it were the body of God, we generate certain similarities between it and the deity; by treating certain opinions as if they were the unintended consequences of an illness rather than the intentional products of a decision, we create certain similarities between deviance and disease.

In short, the languages of poetry and science make use of descriptive metaphors, whereas the languages of religion, politics, and psychiatry make use of strategic metaphors.

REASON: This is why you don't like to call psychotherapy "psycho-therapy"?

SZASZ: Right. And it's not "just a matter of words" as some people contemptuously refer to making such distinctions. Individual psychotherapy is, in plain English, a particular kind of conversation between two people. However, if it were called "conversation," one party could not regard himself as ill or deduct his payments for it on his income tax return; and the other party could not regard himself as a physician or prevent others from engaging in such conversation under the pretense that doing so constitutes practicing medicine.

REASON: Psychiatric terms thus guarantee certain privileges.

SZASZ: Yes, privileges for the psychiatrists; and, often, handicaps for the patients. The medical "blessing" of conversation as psychotherapy is like the priestly blessing of water as holy; each transforms something ordinary into something extraordinary, something common and cheap into something uncommon and precious; and it legitimizes those who control this naming—whether they be priests or physicians—as justly in control of the services and the substances to which multitudes want to gain access. We touch here on the linguistic bases of trade-restrictions—of arrangements which are the very opposites of the free market, on which libertarianism so squarely rests.

REASON: Perhaps we should end on this note of freedom and the enemies of freedom. Are you an optimist or pessimist about the prospects for freedom?

SZASZ: Neither. I am impressed by how ambivalent most people are about freedom. They want freedom. But they also want things which are incompatible with it. Perhaps it's the old human weakness of wanting to eat one's cake and wanting to have it too.

REASON: Why, in your view, is there not more support for individual liberty, the free market, libertarian principles in general?

SZASZ: I can give you one reason. There are no doubt others. It seems to me that you can organize against freedom, but that you can't really organize for it. The best you can do is to organize for conditions that make freedom possible. But it's so easy to organize against freedom. In fact, one could almost say that every religion, every ideology, every political system is an organization against freedom. Freedom is opposed in countless guises, for countless reasons: in the name of God—by religion; in the name of the nation—by patriotism; in the name of tradition—by conservatism; in the name of equality—by communism; in the name of the majority—by democracy; in the name of mental health—by psychiatry; in the name of preventing suicide—by suicidology; in the name of controlling drug abuse—by drug abuseology; in the name of all of mankind—by utopianisms of all sorts. There seems to be no end to the reasons that people can find to oppose individual freedom and dignity. Perhaps that's because freedom is such a powerful idea—an idea of still infinite possibilities. ◻

COMING NEXT MONTH:

REASON's November issue will be our special fall book review issue, highlighting some of 1974's most important books. Leading off the issue will be major reviews of two books about the Soviet Union: Alexander Solzhenitsyn's GULAG ARCHIPELAGO and Julius Epstein's OPERATION KEELHAUL. Also in the spotlight will be John Kenneth Galbraith's ECONOMICS AND THE PUBLIC PURPOSE, together with Myron Sharpe's JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH AND THE LOWER ECONOMICS. Children and compulsory schooling will be explored in William Rickenbacker's THE TWELVE-YEAR SENTENCE and John Holt's ESCAPE FROM CHILDHOOD. Also reviewed will be Tibor Machan's THE LIBERTARIAN ALTERNATIVE and Murray Rothbard's EGALITARIANISM AS A REVOLT AGAINST NATURE. And well-known tax resistor Karl Bray will discuss the latest crop of books about the IRS, including THE APRIL GAME and THE IRS CONSPIRACY. In addition, Robert Greenwood (author of the popular short story "The Other World" in last December's issue) reviews the critical reception accorded Ayn Rand's four novels over the years. This special issue, which also includes all of REASON's regular features, will be cover priced at $1.50, but will be sent to subscribers at no extra cost.

ABACO: Birth of a new

Lynn Kinsky and Robert Poole, Jr.

Several months ago an organization known as Friends of Abaco appeared on the scene, and advertised (among other places) in this magazine. Abaco, the ads explained, is one of the Bahamas islands, whose people want to be autonomous from the central government in Nassau. The ads went on to imply that Abaco could become a free-enterprise enclave, with free trade, no taxes, and full individual liberty.

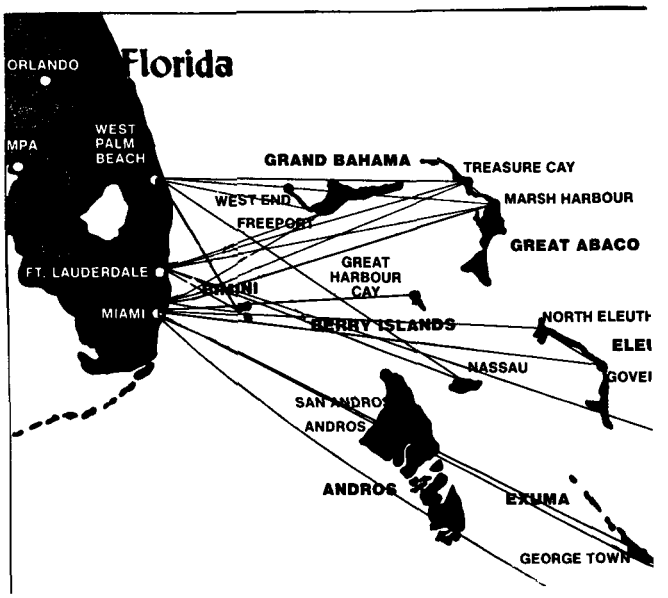
Free trade zones, and tax havens tend to come and go, generally starting with a big splash, enticing in banks, industries, and expatriates from abroad . . . only to suffer a change of administration which begins to regulate, tax, and set up a welfare state like any other government. Would Abaco be any different? Does the independence movement have much chance of succeeding? If a laissez-faire enclave should be set up there, would it be likely to last?

To attempt to answer these questions, REASON has been researching the Abaco situation for the past six months. The most recent step occurred at the end of July when editor-in-chief Lynn Kinsky and executive editor Robert Poole, Jr. visited Abaco. Exploring the country like tourists, they talked with native Abaconians, both black and white, about the island, its problems, the Nassau government, and the independence movement. In the course of their travels, they talked with several of the leaders of the Abaco Independence Movement and obtained a copy of the proposed constitution of the Abaco Commonwealth. Their assessment—in words and pictures—follows.

At first glance Abaco might seem a rather strange place for a new nation to be born. It is small and relatively poor, its people are unsophisticated, it possesses no great mineral wealth, no large harbors, and no cities. Yet none of this should disqualify it: Hong Kong, Macao, and Singapore are all independent, prosperous free ports. All three are smaller than Abaco's 776 square miles, and all are basically without natural resources. Indeed, the brief ascendancy of Freeport on neighboring Grand Bahama Island showed very pointedly what kind of energetic development could be generated on virtually worthless land, simply by removing taxation. (Freeport grew from nothing to 20,000 people in a few short years, with 15 hotels, a dredged harbor and marina, and several major American-owned plants and refineries.) As an independent nation Abaco would not be the world's smallest, either in area or in population. A number of U.N. members are smaller in area, and at least one is smaller in population than Abaco's present 6500.

So what kind of a place is Abaco? This would-be country is actually an archipelago, consisting of two large islands—Great Abaco and Little Abaco—and numerous small offshore islands called cays (pronounced *keys*). From north to south, the islands extend some 90 miles, and cover 75 miles east to west. Abaco is approximately 170 miles east of Florida and 100 miles north of Nassau, capital of the Bahamas. The main settlements on Great Abaco are Cooperstown, Treasure Cay, Marsh Harbor (seat of government, i.e. the office of the Commissioner, sent from Nassau), Little Harbor, Cherokee Sound, and Sandy Point. There are airstrips at Sandy Point, Treasure Cay, and Marsh Harbor, the latter two being designated as "international airports" in view of daily service from Florida (Mackey International) and Nassau (Bahamasair). A number of the smaller cays are privately owned, mostly by Americans, but there are long-established settlements on Green Turtle Cay

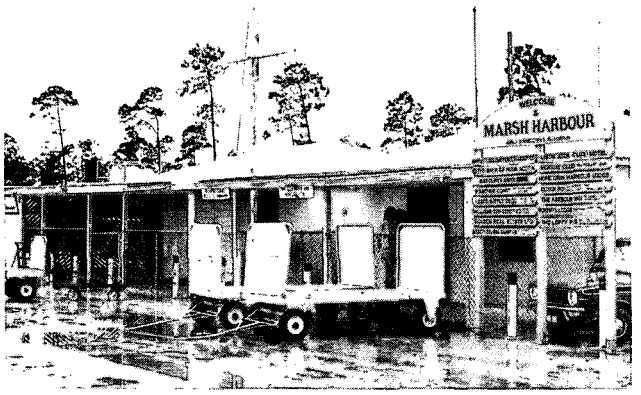
country?



(New Plymouth), Great Guana Cay, Man-o-War Cay, and Elbow Cay (Hope Town and White Sound).

Marsh Harbor is the largest settlement, spread out along its harbor for about a mile, together with its suburbs of Murphy Town and Dundas Town. The town boasts several inns and restaurants, four banks, a clinic, a supermarket, and various other modern stores, a charter-yacht service, and other service businesses. The settlements on the cays are much more compact, resembling New England whaling towns of 200 years ago, with narrow streets and neat little houses, painted in pastel colors. Hope Town is particularly picturesque, with its candy-striped lighthouse (still lit by kerosene, as it has been for 100 years) and beautiful hurricane-safe harbor. The only Americanized area of Abaco is Treasure Cay, a resort community developed by Americans beginning in 1963. It features a very modern hotel, condominiums, beach houses, marina, golf course, and homesites—and is regarded as distinctly foreign by most Abaconians.

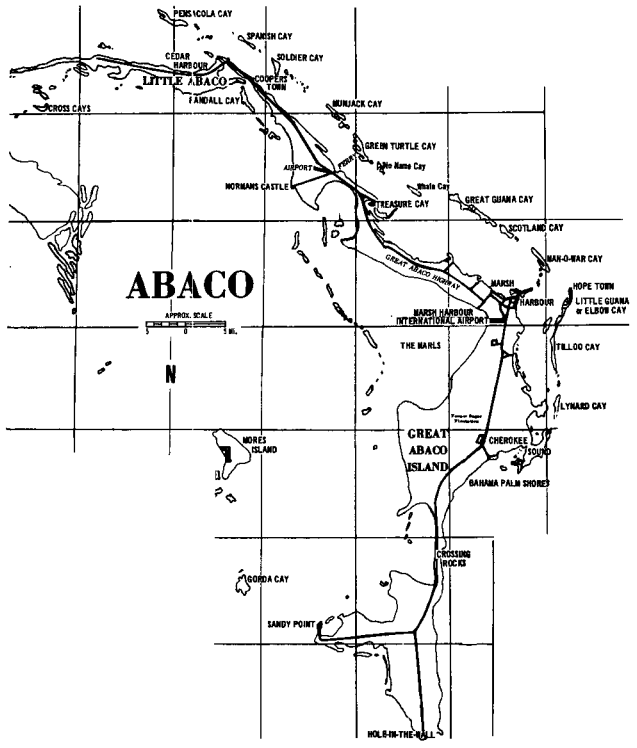
Great Abaco has a single paved north-south highway (the Great Abaco Highway), built by Owens-Illinois in 1959 to serve its logging operations (since moved to Andros Island). Most of the 1600 miles of road on the island (largely unpaved) were built by that company, which during the 1960's was a mainstay of Abaco's economy. The coming of the highway permitted cars to be introduced, the population of which has exploded from two (in 1959) to some 2000 today. Once Owens-Illinois ceased logging in 1968, there was no further maintenance on the road, despite the pleas of the citizenry to the government in Nassau. Finally in 1973 the government issued a paving contract, reportedly at $24,000 per mile. According to local lore, the contractor (who had no prior experience and was selected for political reasons) turned right around and subcontracted the job to another firm for $20,000 per mile, pocketing a fast profit. The latter simply graded the road, rather than repaving it, and as a result it is once again a mass of pot holes.



Photos by Lynn Kinsky

Marsh Harbor airport terminal

Lynn Kinsky is editor in chief of REASON. A graduate of the University of Wisconsin in chemistry, Ms. Kinsky has recently entered a graduate program in sociology at the University of California in Santa Barbara, from which she plans to obtain a Ph.D. Robert Poole, Jr. is executive editor of REASON and director of marketing for a California think tank. He holds two degrees in engineering from MIT.



ABACO'S ECONOMY

Economically, tourism is the island's largest business activity. Abaco's incredibly beautiful water, white sand beaches, and balmy climate make it a favorite off-the-beaten-path tourist spot, especially for boat owners. Boat-building was once an important industry, but the advent of fiberglass has largely obsoleted the skills of Marsh Harbor and Man-o-War Cay's fine hand craftsmen. Fishing is an important occupation of Abaconian men, and the island practically shuts down during the late summer crawfish (lobster) season, when everyone goes out after the highly lucrative shellfish.

Lumbering was an important industry during the 1960's, with forests of yellow pine providing excellent pulpwood for the Jacksonville (Florida) paper mills. Owens-Illinois cleared huge stands of timber, which it properly reforested, but completed its cutting program in 1968. Wishing to make further use of its large investment in equipment, its buildings and roads, workforce, etc., the company then developed a major sugar-cane operation. It brought in 19 heavy-duty bulldozers to clear the land, and 30 farm tractors to work it. A modern sugar refining and packing plant was built adjacent to the fields. By 1970 the operation employed 300 people, 150 of them Bahamians, but by November of that year the company decided to close down. Its press release cited the inability of the Bahamas to get a sufficiently large U.S. sugar quota, and said also that the yield per acre was substantially below what was needed for a profitable operation. Unsaid, but widely believed, was the company's serious problem in obtaining the necessary work permits to bring in enough skilled managers and technicians, due to the Pindling government's work permit freeze which began in March 1969.

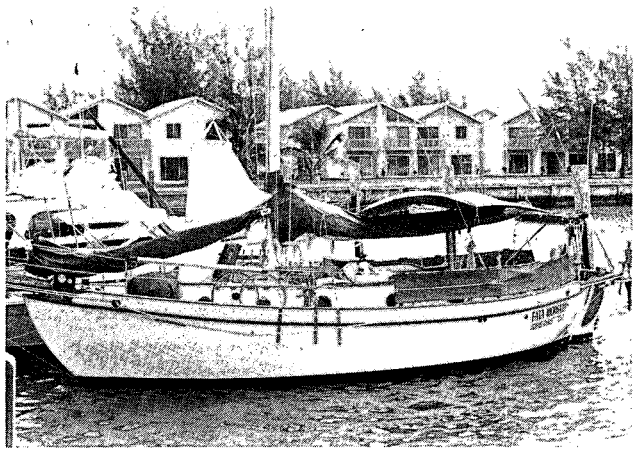
Today, nearly four years after the shutdown, Owens-Illinois has yet to find a buyer for its Abaco holdings: a 23,000 acre plantation and sugar mill capable of producing 50,000 tons per year, rows and rows of rusting tractors, lease rights to 25,000 additional acres, three employee towns (with schools, electricity, and water), a portion of the Great Abaco Highway, and a group of executive homes. The price? Just $16 million, complete. The lack of buyers is indicative of outside investors' lack of confidence in the economic system under the Nassau government.

Indeed, it is only tourism that has limited Abaco to a recession while the rest of the Bahamas have experienced a depression during the past few years. Pindling's racially-motivated work permit system and the increasingly high import duties have made it extremely difficult for American companies to invest in new plants and equipment. They cannot find the skilled technicians and managers they need, and their costs of materials keep rising. Moreover, the government periodically makes noises about introducing an income tax, which does little to shore up the Bahamas' tarnished reputation as a tax haven. These policies have produced unemployment as high as 30 percent in some places. With unemployment has come a large increase in crime in places like Nassau (though not on Abaco), which has seriously hurt the tourist trade, which further aggravates the unemployment situation.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Undoubtedly some of Abaco's continued popularity with tourists stems from its unique social and racial structure and the resultant lack of anti-white hostility (in contrast to conditions elsewhere in the Caribbean right now). Whites constitute only about 15 percent of the population of the Bahamas overall but Abaco is unique in that the black-white ratio is about 50-50.

(Text continues on page 18.)



Yacht harbor and condominiums at Treasure Cay

A VISITOR'S GUIDE TO ABACO

If you're the sort of tourist who loves Las Vegas, big cities, lots of shopping, excitement, and entertainment, then you can forget about Abaco—go to Freeport or Nassau instead. But if you enjoy year-round boating, snorkeling and diving in warm, crystal-clear waters, meeting friendly people, and generally just taking it easy, then Abaco's the place for you.

To get to Abaco take Mackey Airlines from Miami, Fort Lauderdale, or West Palm Beach, Florida or Bahamasair from Nassau—each city has a morning and an afternoon flight into both Marsh Harbor and Treasure Cay (schedules are subject to the usual airlines' whimsy). Try not to fly in on a Sunday—the Customs inspectors consider their work on that day "overtime" and collect a $3 per person fee to compensate them for their efforts! Passports are not required of U.S. citizens, and the customs inspection can vary from cursory to nit-picky (if you plan on doing any hunting or spear fishing, check out Bahamian regulations before you leave the U.S.—weapons control is extremely strict in the Bahamas; ditto drug control).

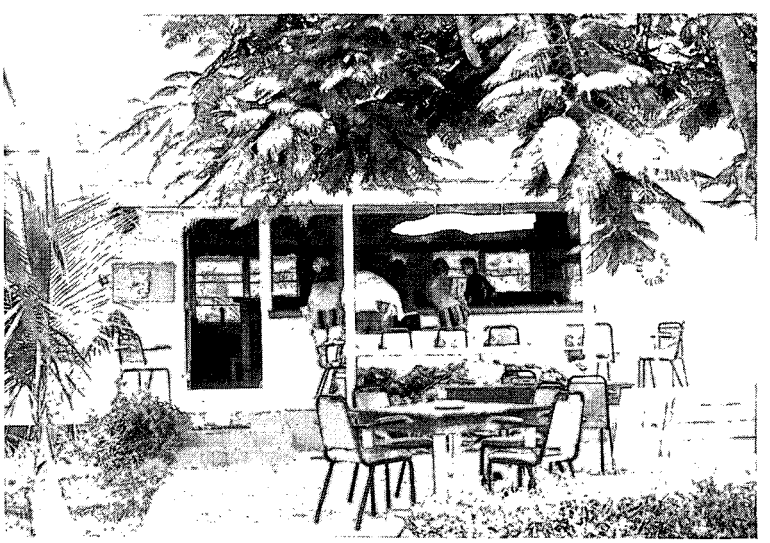
The Abaconian ground transportation system is fast and efficient. Taxis meet all planes and ferry service to the cays is geared to plane arrivals and departures. The airports, taxis, ferries, and hotels are linked via citizen band radio and a conscientious effort is made to ensure that everyone gets to their destination promptly and that no one is left stranded. The taxi fare from airport to local hotels or ferry landing is $5 per person; the ferry trip (Marsh Harbor to Elbow Cay or Man-o-War Cay; Treasure Cay to Green Turtle Cay) is another $5. Buses run between Marsh Harbor and Treasure Cay several times daily at $5 per person. The U.S. dollar is on par with the Bahamian dollar and the two currencies are used interchangeably on Abaco.

A variety of tourist accommodations is available but the number of rooms on the island is limited and reservations are essential, especially during the winter season. Houses and cottages can be rented in several of the settlements, but since many things Americans take for granted—such as supermarkets, laundromats, and central-station generated electricity—are available only in Marsh Harbor and Treasure Cay, a first-time visitor might find renting in the cays or one of the other settlements more hassle than it's worth. (For that matter, Marsh Harbor is the only town with enough restaurants to justify opting for European Plan with your room.)

During our visit to Abaco we stayed first at the Treasure Cay Beach Hotel and then at the Elbow Cay Club—two *very* different hotels. The Treasure Cay Beach Hotel (c/o P.O. Box 3941, Main Office, Miami, FL 33101) is part of a multi-million dollar resort-villa-condominium-marina community being developed by Deltec Banking Corporation, Ltd. Treasure Cay features an 18 hole golf course, clay tennis courts, a fresh water swimming pool, a large marina, a lovely beach, modern medical facilities, a shopping center, elegant air-conditioned rooms and villas to rent, and fine dining facilities (jacket suggested at dinner)—all the comforts (and then some!) of home. If you want to vacation in luxury and privacy and can afford to pay a minimum of $65 per day (two people, winter rates, Modified American Plan), then Treasure Cay is for you. However, if you want to meet Abaconians and get a feel for island life, then Treasure Cay is not the place to be—it's more representative of Palm Beach than of Abaco.

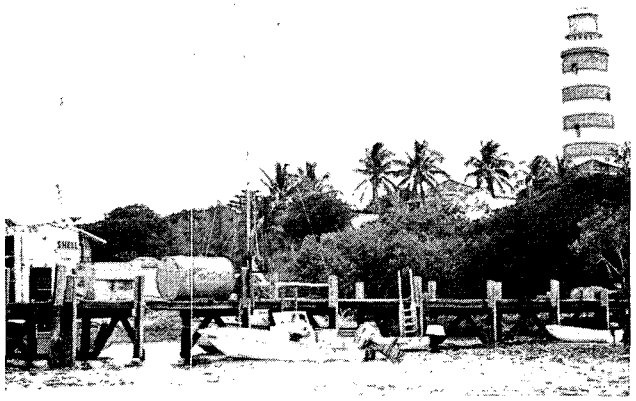
At the opposite pole from Treasure Cay is the Elbow Cay Club (c/o P.O. Box 849, Miami, FL 33137), situated about a mile outside Hope Town and reachable via the ferry from Marsh Harbor. The Club consists of a number of rustic but comfortable wooden cottages and a central clubhouse/bar built around a private cove, beach, and dock off the Bay of Abaco. The cove provides good snorkeling and swimming, sail and motor boats are available for those wishing to explore the surrounding reefs and cays, Hope Town and Atlantic Ocean beaches are easily accessible by road and boat, and for the energetic, windsurfing lessons are available [it isn't as easy as it looks!—LK]. The Elbow Cay Club is the least formal of any of the hotels on Abaco—owners Bob and Annie Maltarp run it as an extension of their home with casual dress the rule and all meals (delicious!) served family style on the patio. The bar is a favorite gathering spot for local residents and visitors, and a good place to meet people and make friends. The Elbow Cay Club costs about $44 per day (two people, winter rates, Modified American Plan).

For more information on vacationing on Abaco write to The Secretary, Abaco Businessmen's Association, Post Office Box 509, Marsh Harbor, Abaco, Bahamas —they have a number of pamphlets available—or check with your travel agent. If you're interested in coming in your own plane or boat, the standard source of information is the *Yachtsman's Guide to the Bahamas,* available for $4 from Caribbean Sailing Yachts, Inc., Box 491A, Tenafly, NJ 07670. (phone 201-568-0390). And if you know how to handle a boat and would like to sail Bahamian waters (really, the only way to get to some settlements) but you don't happen to have a yacht handy, C.S.Y. specializes in bareboat charters out of Marsh Harbor in which they rent fully fueled and provisioned Capri 30's and Pearson Carib 39's to qualified parties. The cost is approximately $200 per person per week based on four people on the Capri and six on the Carib. For more information contact C.S.Y. at the address above.



Bar and patio of Elbow Cay Club

After the American Revolutionary War large numbers of British Loyalists fled to the Bahamas in order to stay under British rule. The first settlers on Abaco came from New York and New England in 1785 and were primarily fishermen and boatbuilders—they settled on the cays where good harbors were available. Other Loyalists came from Virginia and the Carolinas bringing their slaves with them and they set up cotton plantations on Great Abaco. When Britain abolished



Fuel dock and lighthouse, Hope Town

slavery in 1834 many of the plantations were abandoned and the freed slaves left on their own to eke out whatever precarious existence they could.

Meanwhile, out on the cays, the living was pretty easy. The waters all through the Bahamas can be treacherous to navigate and there were no charts available in the early 1800's—many ships went aground accidentally, resulting in the cargo being salvaged by local residents. Even more ships were *lured* aground when local residents set up false navigation beacons! Wrecking was *the* industry among the Loyalists on the cays—enough ships were crashed onto Elbow Cay every year to provide a comfortable salvage income for all 600 residents of Hope Town. These halcyon days came to an end with the completion in 1862 of Hopetown's famed candy-stripe lighthouse (the residents tried unsuccessfully to sabotage its construction) and all of Abaco settled down into an isolated, poverty-stricken existence. There was little communication between white and black settlements (blacks weren't allowed on some of the cays) or even between white settlements, and that situation wasn't modified until 1959 when the Great Abaco Highway was built linking the mainland settlements.

The main thing the highway did was promote business and commerce between the races—the settlements have never integrated residentially. Nor does anyone, black or white, appear to want residential integration—both races appear concerned about preventing interracial marriage as well as trying to avoid having either racial group become politically or economically dominant over the other. This system appears to work well; there is no segregation in stores, hotels, schools, restaurants, etc. and black Abaconians have for the most part been unresponsive to the racist rhetoric of Prime Minister Lyndon Pindling.

This desire to remain autonomous extends to all levels of Abaconian life; it's more than just a racial issue. The Out Islands of the Bahamas, including Abaco, are still a frontier, and in many respects life in the settlements hasn't changed much in 200 years: children's schooling consists mainly in learning to read and write; churches are the dominant social institutions in the settlements and religion is taken quite seriously; family structure is very traditional with women sticking strictly to the home; and—most importantly—the economy is still a hunting (fishing) and gathering one. The waters around Abaco teem with fish, conch, crawfish, etc. and a man can earn enough to support a family adequately (by Abaco standards) without having to work *too* hard. He's self-sufficient, he's his own boss—and he's very independent.

For most of Abaco's history it was a neglected island in Britain's poorest colony—although the islanders presumably got psychic satisfaction out of being British subjects, their contact with agents of the government was minimal. Each settlement kept to itself and handled its own affairs—a situation which was drastically changed when Owens-Illinois started opening up the island in 1959 and gave the Bahamian government and the Abaco settlements access to each other.

INDEPENDENCE—FOR WHOM?

In 1967 the Progressive Liberal Party (PLP) won their first electoral victory in the Bahamas, marking an end to two centuries of white political control in the 85-percent black islands. The PLP, under Lyndon O. Pindling, built its political program on two planks: appeals to black racism and economic interventionism. Its campaigns during its six years in power have openly exploited black grievances and discontent, by promising to throw out whites, or at least to take away from them the good jobs and give them to blacks. The practical implementation of this rhetoric was Pindling's system of work permits for foreigners, culminating in the disastrous permit freeze of 1969. PLP's economic programs have included inflating the currency, raising taxes, proposing national health insurance, and removing portions of the home rule provisions granted to Freeport in 1957.

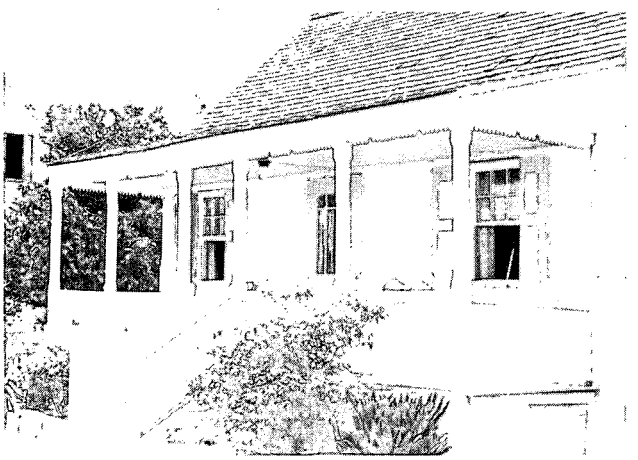
As discussed above, Abaco's social structure is unlike that of the other Bahamas islands. With its relatively good race relations, large white population, extensive British heritage, and rugged individualism, Abaco did not respond favorably to PLP's rhetoric, consistently giving majorities to the opposition party. Consequently, when the PLP government succeeded in winning independence from Great Britain in 1973,

a delegation from Abaco went to England and petitioned the Queen to allow Abaco to remain a British colony, separate from the Bahamas. But the request fell on deaf ears.

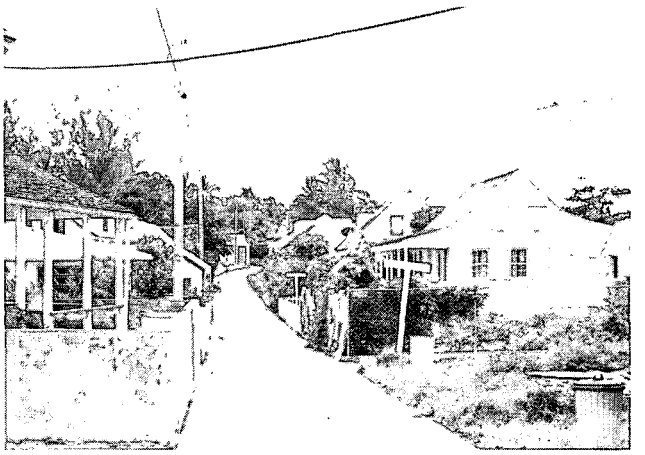
The Abaco separatists were discouraged, but not defeated. Independence became official in July of 1973. By August, the formation of a new political party on Abaco—the Abaco Independence Movement (AIM)—was announced, with the avowed purpose of achieving self-government for Abaco. The first issue of the party's newsletter, *The Abaco Independent,* set forth AIM's basic philosophy of government, in the following words: "The purpose of government is to protect the freedom of the individual from force and fraud. Government should be the servant, not the master, of the people."

If these words have a surprisingly libertarian ring to them, the source of this influence is no mystery. One of the founders of AIM several years ago heard about American libertarian Mike Oliver, and purchased a copy of his book, *A New Constitution for a New Country.* Oliver's ideas on separating economy and state by law, and his concept of an extremely limited government funded by participation premiums rather than taxes (see "Designing a Free Country: An Interview with Mike Oliver," REASON, December 1972) seemed particularly applicable to the situation on Abaco. Consequently, the AIM leaders contacted Oliver for advice and assistance.

Mike Oliver, as readers of this magazine and of the *International Harry Schultz Letter* are aware, has spent a considerable portion of his time and energy over the past six years working on what he terms the New Country Project—a continuing, worldwide search for locations where libertarian concepts of freedom might be put into practice. These efforts have involved scores of people and several million miles of travel, discussion and negotiations with a variety of governments and industrial concerns. Thus far, none of these efforts has succeeded, principally due to an incredible unwillingness on the part of established governments to relinquish sovereignty over even the smallest, most worthless piece of land. (Even the worst collectivist bureaucrat is apparently aware of the remarkable power of truly free enterprise to turn barren islands and deserts into centers of commerce—and he's not about to relinquish his "sovereign right" to move in and tax what the newcomer capitalists might produce.)



House in Hope Town, on Elbow Cay



Residential area in Hope Town, Elbow Cay

Abaco, however, appeared to present a uniquely promising opportunity. For here was an area in which the population (or at least a significant portion of it) appeared to be basically individualist in orientation, and desirous of getting out from under an oppressive external government, whose interventionist policies were visibly wrecking the economy. Further investigation by New Country Project personnel confirmed the initial impressions. As a result, a U.S. foundation known as Friends of Abaco (FOA) was set up, headed by Hank Phillips in Fort Walton Beach, Florida. The foundation, of course, could not engage in political activities, but there was nothing to prevent it from engaging in a variety of educational activities (such as sending several hundred copies of John Hospers' *Libertarianism* to Abaco).

GETTING UNDER WAY

With advice and encouragement from FOA, and immediate grass-roots support, AIM's organizing got into high gear. Between its first public meeting on October 27, 1973 and July 1, 1974, AIM's membership grew from zero to about 1000 (out of only 2200 voters). The most active support has come from Marsh Harbor and Hope Town, but AIM has members in all 17 of Abaco's settlements. Membership is about evenly split between whites and blacks, and AIM's vice-chairman is black. Besides achieving a large membership in a short period of time, AIM has (1) published and distributed *The Abaco Independent*—a semi-monthly newsletter commenting on political and economic events on Abaco and in Nassau, and promoting the cause of independence, (2) distributed a large number of bumper strips supporting independence and criticizing the government, (3) produced and sold AIM T-shirts, (4) held an organizing convention, and (5) conducted a development conference.

Marsh Harbor electric power station

The main speakers at the AIM organizing convention in February were libertarian philosopher John Hospers and Cleophas Adderly, an Independent member of the Bahamas Parliament. Adderly, a strong supporter of AIM, came down hard on the PLP-dominated Nassau government. Telling the AIM supporters that "this heartless government is driving you into the dust," Adderly reminded them that when government fails to be the servant of the people, "you are supposed to get rid of them." Hospers, having been warned by Immigration at Marsh Harbor not to make a political speech, instead delivered an "economic speech," pointing out that when government gets a stranglehold on business and the economy, it paralyzes people's initiative to do anything on their own. Both speeches received front-page write-ups in *The Tribune,* Nassau's leading newspaper. The convention adopted a party constitution, statement of principles, platform, and a plan of action setting forth both short-term and long-term actions for achieving self-government.

The development conference, called "Prosperity '74," was held in May by AIM's Abaco Development Bureau. Its purpose was to bring together a group of industrial experts in order to generate ideas on how the island could become self-reliant. About 100 prominent Abaco business and community leaders were invited to the conference, which focused on tourism, commercial fishing, and agriculture. Among the speakers were Dr. Jack Wheeler, speaking on Abaco's substantial tourist potential; Alvin W. Lowi, discussing improved technology for commercial fishing; and Susan Love Brown, discussing the island's educational needs. Also attending were potential foreign investors, and Lord Belhaven, a member of the British Parliament who supports independence for Abaco.

Noticeably absent from the conference was Dr. Hospers, who had been scheduled to speak on plans for setting up an academy of higher education on Abaco. Anticipating trouble from Immigration due to both the popularity of his book, and his February speech, Hospers flew into Treasure Cay rather than Marsh Harbor. But Bahamas Immigration apparently had alerted all points of entry to be on the lookout for this "undesirable alien." Thus, Hospers was not allowed off the plane, but was forced to return immediately to Miami. Fortunately, the incident was reported in the *Nassau Guardian,* exposing the government's blatant repression of free speech.

A PROGRAM FOR FREEDOM

A political movement needs more than membership and meetings. It must have issues to obtain support, and it must have a plan for dealing with these issues. AIM has emphasized a number of issues in its campaign to build support for independence, and has developed a constitution for setting up a new, limited government for an independent Abaco. The people of Abaco have many grievances, apart from the destruction of the economy by the Nassau government. Despite the PLP's pre-independence rhetoric about the evils of colonialism, the status of the Bahama Out Islands (of which Abaco is one) is essentially that of colonies of the Nassau government. Government officials, including Abaco's Commissioner, court, and police officers, are *appointed* by the Nassau government. Of the tax money collected on Abaco (import duties, fuel taxes, license fees), only about one-third returns to Abaco in the form of services. And over 300,000 acres of Abaco consists of government-owned Crown lands, over which Abaconians have no control.

AIM has taken these issues to heart, advocating short-term reforms (which the government is likely to ignore, thereby strengthening the case for independence). It has agitated strenuously for repair of the pot hole-filled Great Abaco Highway, pointing out how little Abaconians receive for the 30¢ per gallon gasoline tax. It has urged creation of a special trust fund from the government's marine revenues collected on Abaco (fuel taxes, license fees, etc.) for repair of broken-down public docks, navigation aids, etc., since one of AIM's (interim) principles is that "those who pay taxes are the ones who should receive the benefits from them." It has called for local election of all public officials, and especially for local control of courts and police.

AIM's most imaginative idea concerns establishment of an Abaco National Land Trust. Pointing out that the so-called Crown Lands rightfully belong, not to the government, but to the people of Abaco, AIM proposes converting these land holdings into a trust, shares of which would be held by Abaconians. The trust would make available to each native-born Abaconian adult one acre of land; the balance would be leased (with suitable safeguards against pollution) for commercial, light industrial, tourist, residential, and recreational purposes. One economic study pro-

A SETTLER'S GUIDE TO ABACO

People desiring to move to Abaco should make at least one visit as a tourist, to determine if they really want to live in a subtropical climate, on an isolated island without many of the comforts of home. The desirability of such a move will depend a good deal on whether or not the independence movement succeeds, especially the availability of jobs. At present, foreigners must obtain work permits from the Nassau government, and be able to show that they are in no way competing for the job with any Bahamian. With an unemployment rate in some places reaching 30 percent, this can be difficult. The government has—and exercises—great discretion in its interpretation of the rules, so that all one can advise is: don't presume in advance that you can obtain the necessary work permit.

To live in the Bahamas you must also obtain a residence permit, also issued at the government's discretion and revokable at their pleasure. (This is one reason why Americans living in Abaco, most of whom favor independence, have not publicly endorsed AIM.) One may apply for Bahamas citizenship after five years of residence.

TAXES

The Bahamas have no income tax (as yet), and no sales tax, but they do have property taxes. Government revenues are derived from import duties (once low, but now 50 percent or more on some items, such as automobiles), license fees, and fuel taxes (30¢ out of the 91¢ price of a gallon of gasoline is tax). U.S. citizens maintaining a residence abroad are exempt from U.S. income taxes on the first $20,000 of earned income each year for their first three years abroad, and the first $25,000 thereafter. "Unearned" income (e.g. dividends, interest, pensions, rental income, capital gains, etc.) is taxable just as if you were in the U.S. Only Social Security payments are completely exempt.

The IRS allows you to define foreign residence in either of two ways: the "bona-fide-residence-in-a-foreign-country" method refers to actual residence in a foreign country for an uninterrupted period including a full calendar year (beginning January 1). You demonstrate residence by having a dwelling place, a residence permit, etc. Alternatively, you can use the "physical presence" method, to prove you have been outside the U.S. for at least 510 days in an 18-month period, as proved by entry and exit stamps in your passport. In the case of the Bahamas, since no passport is required, you would have to ask Bahamas Immigration to stamp your passport each time.

LAND

Much land is available for sale, both on Great Abaco itself and on the many Abaco cays. The choicest residential properties are located on the cays, many of which are oceanfront or bayfront (or both). Under independence, industrial development would likely be confined to Great Abaco, leaving the cays relatively unspoiled. Residential lots on Elbow Cay, for example, start at about $2000 and range up to $20,000, depending on size, location, views, etc. Homes seem to be priced in about the same range as in California, with low labor costs apparently offsetting considerably higher material costs. Financing at seven percent is available as of this writing.

Water is available from wells on Great Abaco—the island is basically limestone and has fresh water in abundance. On the cays, however, all water is obtained from rainfall (which averages 50 inches per year and falls in all 12 months), so most houses are built to include a cistern and pump. Central station electric power is available in the major settlements on Great Abaco (e.g. Marsh Harbor, Treasure Cay) but not in between. On the cays and outside the settlements, most people have their own diesel or gasoline-powered generators, or do without. A cable has recently been laid across the bay from Marsh Harbor to Elbow Cay, and power lines are now being installed on that island.

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

There are reportedly 2000 cars in Abaco, but there are few paved roads (and those are in poor shape, with many large pot holes). With the 50 percent import duty, to boot, one should think twice before bringing in the family Cadillac (a jeep or VW van would seem more practical, in any event). Most people rely on boats for a good part of their transportation. Fourteen-foot outboard-powered Boston Whalers are as common on Abaco as VW Beetles in a college town. Since only a few of the cays have ferry service to Great Abaco (Green Turtle, Man of War, and Elbow Cay), a boat is indispensible for residents of the other cays, and is probably the most flexible and cost-effective means of getting between any two settlements.

There is telephone service to Nassau and Florida from Marsh Harbor and Treasure Cay, but elsewhere everyone relies on Citizens Band (CB) radios. Most homes, businesses, cars, and boats are equipped with inexpensive CB rigs. Tall antennas suffice to bring in good quality television and FM radio signals from Florida, and AM reception is possible without external antennas.

COST OF LIVING

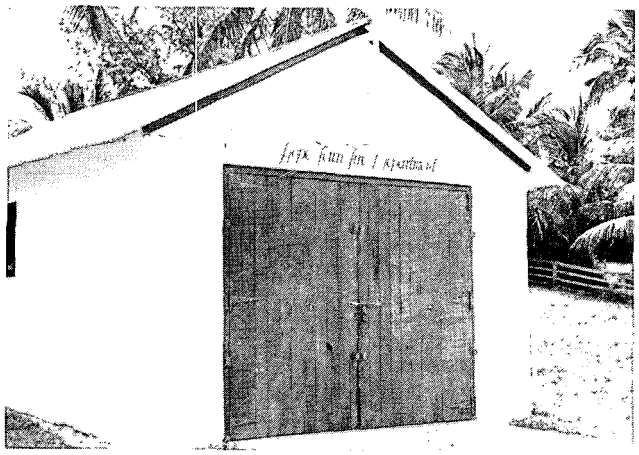
Very little food is produced anywhere in the Bahamas; hence, most food is imported from the United States, Canada, England, and other countries. Although the duty on food is only a few percent, low demand and high transportation costs result in food prices 50-100 percent higher than in the U.S. Fresh milk is rare, as there is only one Bahamian dairy operation and most Bahamians have never acquired the custom of milk drinking. Non-tropical fresh fruits and vegetables are scarce and expensive, again owing mainly to traditional eating habits rather than deficiencies in the soil. Tomatoes and cucumbers have been grown for export to Florida, but are rarely sold in local stores. Reportedly, excellent citrus and pineapple can be grown, but this has rarely been done. The price of alcohol is higher than in the U.S., in contrast to prices in most of the Caribbean, due to highly-resented special taxes on beer, wine, and spirits.

The high prices of fuel and materials have already been noted. As an underdeveloped, nonindustrialized country, the Bahamas must import nearly all manufactured items. Most are imported in small quantities, and at high prices. Labor, as noted, is relatively cheap, so that housing costs are not unreasonable. Neither heating nor air conditioning is really necessary (though some may feel the need for one or the other at some times of the year).

REFERENCES

For background on the Bahamas generally, and Abaco in particular, the following books are recommended:

- *Bahamas Islands: A Boatman's Guide to the Land and the Water.* By J. Linton Rigg, revised by Harry Kline. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1973 (4th edition). $12.95.
- *The Innocent Island: Abaco in the Bahamas.* By Zoe C. Durrell. The Stephen Greene Press (P.O. Box 1000, Brattleboro, VT 05301). 1972. $5.95 (paperback).
- *Out-Island Doctor.* By Evans W. Cottman. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1963. $6.25.



Hope Town Fire Department fire house

jects that leasing only 137,000 of the 300,000 acres could yield annual income of $55 million, to be used to provide services to tenants and to provide income to each shareholder in the Land Trust. Needless to say, this proposal is attractive to residents of what, by American standards, is an underdeveloped island.

A NEW CONSTITUTION

AIM's leaders are understandably closed-mouthed about the precise steps they plan to take to achieve independence for Abaco. They have carefully researched 20th century history and U.N. resolutions regarding independence and self-determination, so that whatever their approach, they will have an array of facts and precedents to support their case in the eyes of the world. What is especially noteworthy is the care with which they have developed and refined their proposed constitution for the Abaco Commonwealth. Their challenge, basically, was to devise a way to set up a government limited strictly to protection against force and fraud: a government completely separate from the country's economy, and financed without resort to coercive taxation. Such a government would keep the peace, while preserving indefinitely Abaco's status as a tax-free haven for free trade.

The resulting document (at least in its third-draft, May 1974 version) is truly remarkable; its adoption by an independent Abaco would be an event comparable in significance to adoption of the U.S. Constitution in 1787. Americans will find much about the document that reminds them of our own constitution: separation of powers among executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government; checks and balances; a two-house legislature; an even stronger bill of rights. But in many respects these similarities are superficial, being matters of form rather than substance. The essential features of the constitution concern the powers of, and limitations on, the government, and its method of obtaining revenue.

The Abaco government would be limited by the proposed constitution to a list of specific functions, and expressly prohibited from carrying out a long list of other activities. For example, under the constitution the government could NOT:

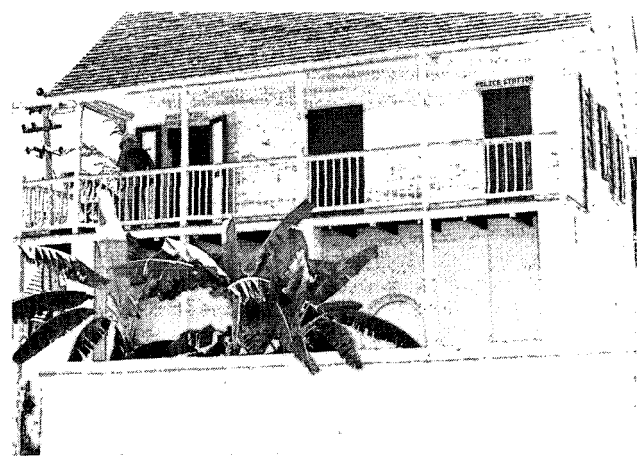
- Issue money
- Pass or enforce any legal tender laws
- Restrict trade in any way
- Establish or aid any school or church
- Own any business or property
- Establish or support any form of charity, welfare, or insurance program
- Grant exclusive franchises
- Subsidize any business
- Interfere with wages or prices.

The government's limited powers and duties include the following:

- Maintaining peace-keeping and defense forces
- Maintaining courts
- Maintaining the government agencies defined in the constitution
- Registering and recording legal documents
- Adjudicating disputes.

In addition, there are various activities in which the government *may* engage, but which are not required of it:

- Guaranteeing priority of usage, based on properly established claims, to radio frequencies, air lanes, and marine resources
- Guaranteeing patents and copyrights (with multiple patents allowed in case of independent invention)
- Establishing fishing seasons
- Investigating fraudulent product claims, upon complaint, and requiring corrective action
- Prohibiting import or export of disease-causing products, arms for criminal groups, and products of material benefit to a declared enemy of the Commonwealth. Each such allegation must be proven in court.



Hope Town post office and police station

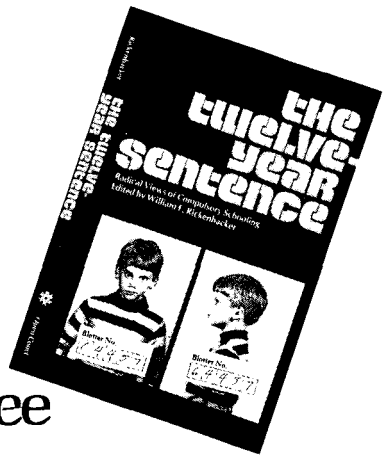
ABOLISHING TAXES

The constitution's most important concept is its provision for voluntary government funding, so as to make good on the no-taxation provision. The basic concept is derived from Oliver's *A New Constitution for a New Country,* and is based on the following premise: if government performs valuable services, people who wish these services should—and will—pay for them. Therefore, the constitution separates people into two categories: participants and nonparticipants. Participants are those who choose to partake of government services. In exchange for paying an annual participation premium (computed by dividing the proposed annual budget by the number of participants), they obtain voting rights (if they are citizens), access to the courts, and full police protection. With regard to courts and police services, all residents are to be recognized as having equal rights before the law, and a police officer witnessing a crime in progress is required to act as if the victim were a participant. If it turns out that the victim is not a participant, however, he or she may be charged for the services rendered, as well as for the cost of a participation premium for a period of time determined by the court. Participants may bring civil and criminal cases in the courts, including actions against any agency or official of the government for failure to adequately protect against force and fraud; nonparticipants are denied these privileges.

Because the government's functions are so strictly limited, there is reason to expect the participation premiums to be relatively low, compared with tax payments in comparable countries. In addition to participation premiums, the constitution provides for other government revenues in the form of punitive fines levied by courts on convicted criminals (over and above restitution to the victim and court costs), registration fees for contracts and other documents (whose registration would be voluntary), and fees charged to visitors and those filing petitions for permanent residency and citizenship. The visitor fees would be constitutionally limited to an amount less than the comparable participation premium (prorated over the length of stay); visitors would be allowed to become full participants while in Abaco by paying the full participation premium. The petition-filing fees would likewise be limited to amounts less than full participation premiums.

Would all this really work? Wouldn't this grand design degenerate into just another case of vote-buying politics? No one can guarantee the outcome, but the constitution's framers have included a number of innovative safeguards in an attempt to preserve the limited nature of the government. To begin with, lacking the power to tax, the power to create or inflate currency, and the power to regulate and subsidize, the government will not be a very inviting target for those who want something for nothing. Further, to counter any budding statist tendencies, the framers have included such provisions as the

The Twelve-Year Sentenee



RADICAL VIEWS ON COMPULSORY SCHOOLING (236 pp.), edited by William F. Rickenbacker

Hardcover — C.I.E. price $4.50 (retail $6.95)

Compulsory schooling provides jobs for teachers and secure positions for school administrators, but does it produce quality education? The contributors to this volume say no: at best it is simply a means for the mass production of educational mediocrity.

These scholars, who range across the political spectrum, examine compulsory schooling from the perspectives of law, economics, history, philosophy, and sociology. Each of them calls for greater freedom in education. They are convinced that this would produce far greater variety, would permit serious students to advance more rapidly, and would relieve the classroom of the genuinely troublesome students. This freedom would also do much to relax the bitter and seemingly endless controversy over such issues as busing, curricula classroom prayer, sex education, and indoctrination.

This is a book for beleaguered parents, educational dissenters, and libertarians. The inclusion of extensive legal and general bibliographies also makes it an invaluable tool for scholars, lawyers, and judges.

Please send _____ copy(ies) of *The Twelve-Year Sentence* at the discount price of $4.50 per copy (hardcover).

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Center for Independent Education
P. O. Box 2256
Wichita, Kansas 67201

following:

- All statutes expire automatically after five years
- Salaries (if any) of legislators are set by the voters whom they represent, *not* by the legislature
- Laws can be repealed by referendum
- Assemblymen vote in proportion to the number of votes received when they were elected (i.e. based on how many people they actually represent)
- "None of the above" may be voted for, instead of candidates, on all ballots.

People, of course, can get around *any* set of safeguards, and if a majority of Abaconians should later adopt collectivistic ideas, no system of laws and safeguards will forever preserve the limited government. Thus, the ultimate question is: are the people of Abaco ready for a free society?

PROGNOSIS

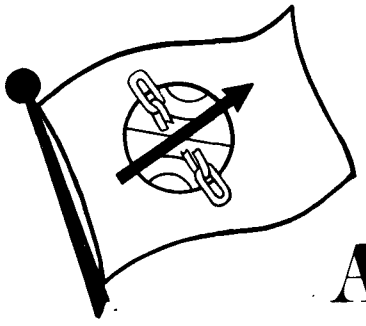
Unfortunately the question doesn't lend itself to a simple yes or no answer. There seems to be little doubt that most Abaconians have *had* it with the Nassau government. They don't like being subjected to the caprices of Nassau-appointed policemen and bureaucrats over whom they have no control; they don't like being taxed, especially not for services they don't receive; they don't like being subject to a government whose policies drive out jobs and investments; etc. However, it's not clear how many AIM supporters have joined the organization because of an ideological commitment to libertarian principles, as opposed to joining to express dissatisfaction with the status quo. It could well be that many AIM members would be just as happy to return to the paternalism of the British colonial government—if Britain would agree (which is unlikely).

AIM bumper strip adorns VW bus in Marsh Harbor

But even if all Abaconians were ready ideologically for a free society and the proposed Constitution was adopted as the basis for their government, they would still face the problem of making it work. Here the prognosis is a bit gloomy—to date Abaconian experiences in self-government have been limited to serving on school boards, public works committees, etc., and the skills developed there aren't of the administrative sort a national government would require. On the other hand, Abaconians wouldn't have to unlearn corrupt and coercive political practices—never having had a chance to learn them in the first place—and would be approaching their new form of government on its own terms without preconceptions.

The final matter to consider is what changes Abaco would experience if a free society were established there—are the people of Abaco prepared to actually live in a politically free society, open to extensive immigration by people with modern views? In theory, yes; until 20 years ago they lived with virtually no political government, defending their moral values informally. But 20 years ago Abaco was a very clannish society and culturally and technically backward. Even if freedom-loving outsiders knew it existed they faced considerable hardships by moving there and their impact on the society was minimal. Today the situation is quite different—an independent, laissez-faire Abaco would be in danger of sinking into the sea from the weight of all its visitors, new residents, new businesses, etc.!

Seen from this perspective, the question becomes one of whether Abaconians can learn enough, fast enough in the *process* of achieving independence to be able to cope with post-independence problems. A single year seems a very short time span for going from a 19th-century to a 20th-century way of life. One almost hopes that AIM does not achieve its goal too quickly, but rather that a prolonged struggle for independence will produce people with skills in organizing and managing, and lead to increased contact with outsiders. This will greatly increase the odds that "future shock" does not cause a prompt reversion to a paternalistic, colonial-type government after but a brief taste of freedom. ☐



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In view of deteriorating U.S. military, economic, and political conditions, this country may face a catastrophic crisis in the near future. With nothing effective being done to alter the trend, matters may get much worse before there is a reversal.

As a measure of insurance, it is time to stock up on gold coins (if you have not done so already), plus a food supply which can be used either in an emergency, or for everyday meals if nothing adverse occurs. With inflation and shortages, such supplies become more and more costly.

Grocery store foods are not designed for long storage, and lose freshness, taste, and nutritional content too quickly for emergency supply use.

The drying method used for thousands of years for food preservation is also not fully satisfactory, producing less appealing foods without preserving sufficient food value for the necessary lengths of time.

To fill the need, "Low-Moisture" methods were developed over 20 years ago. Their value in providing nutritious and attractive meals has been well proven.

New developments in this field have further improved these products. Low moisture foods were used by the climbers of Mt. Everest and by our astronauts. Low moisture foods are practical and easy to prepare for normal everyday consumption. Yet most items can last up to 15 years or longer without refrigeration, with as much as a 75% weight and space reduction (compared to grocery store items). A one year supply can easily be stored in a home or garage.

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These results are achieved by: 1) dehydrating the food; 2) packing it in internally enamelled cans (of which 118 are #10-size cans — slightly smaller than a gallon, and 8 are #3 size—about 1½ quarts). 3) air is removed from the cans, and replaced with an oxygen-free atmosphere before sealing the cans (opening a sealed can will not cause spoilage for several months, allowing full use of the contents); 4) the cans are packed in cartons, 7-3/8" by 12-3/4" by 18-3/4" dimensions. 20 such cartons weigh about 600 pounds and occupy about 2/3 of a cubic yard.

The 12 months supply will provide for 1 adult at 2,450 calories per day. It is designed for either individual or family use. It can feed 2 adults for 6 months, and for a family of six (two adults and four children) for at least 2 months — depending on personal consumption.

The expertly designed Ready-Reserve supply eliminates guess work on what to store. This is of utmost importance to health, especially if a food crisis lasts longer than a few days. Fruits, vegetables, eggs, cheese, grains, sugars, proteins, cooking aids, and a wide variety of ideas and suggestions for best use of your supply. These foods may be used in your everyday menu, while enough are kept in reserve to insure against a food crisis. We can replenish your supply as it is consumed.

Cost of the yearly supply is $560 plus shipping charges (varying between $20 and $80 depending on location). This is a bargain even without a food crisis. Thus the Ready-Reserve supply serves as a hedge against burgeoning prices, at the least. But in a food crisis it can be vital for sheer survival.

Because of worsening inflation, you can expect further price increases in the future. We urge you not to delay purchasing "food insurance," as the politicians aren't likely to make things better for the consumer.

If you order within 2 weeks of reading this notice, you will receive, free of charge, two important books: Passport to Survival, and Famous Mormon Recipes.

COMPARE OUR SUPPLY WITH ANY OTHER.

Our newly augmented yearly supply includes: (all cans #10 unless indicated)

FRUITS: After reconstitution with water, the equivalent of 103 lbs. of fresh fruits — including apples, peaches, and a fruit galaxy of grapes, apricots, and cherries — providing 521 of 3 ounce servings. 6 cans.

VEGETABLES: After reconstitution, the same as 268 lbs. of fresh vegetables — including carrots, green beans, sweet corn, tomatoes, cabbage, potatoes, and peas — providing 500 of 4 ounce servings. 12 cans.

CONCENTRATED VEGETABLE PROTEIN: This provides a meat substitute, equal to the protein content of 100 lbs. of lean, fresh meat. Also 186 servings of bacon-flavored bits — excellent tasting. 12 cans.

GRAINS: Sufficient flour (or unground whole wheat) to provide 250 lbs. of rich wholesome bread, or any other wheat items. Also, 228 of 4 ounce servings of pinto beans; 84 of 4 ounce servings of quick cooking oats; 116 of 4 ounce servings of elbow macaroni; 96 of 4 ounce servings of yellow cornmeal and 279 of 4 ounce servings of rice. 42 cans.

EGGS: 384 eggs (32 dozen) in powdered form — more than one egg per day for a year. 4 cans.

CHEESE: 128 of one ounce servings of cheese. 1 can.

SUGAR: 18 lbs. of granulated sugar. 5 lbs. of brown sugar. Sufficient for normal use of one year. 4 cans.

GELATIN DESSERT: 256 of 4 ounce servings of gelatin dessert. 2 cans.

BREAKFAST DRINK: 384 of 5 ounce servings of grape, grapefruit, orange, or pineapple drinks. 3 cans.

SHORTENING: 39 pounds. 12 cans.

MARGARINE: 20 pounds. 6 cans.

SUPPLEMENTS: Cornstarch sufficient for 96 pounds of pies, or other uses; minced onions to provide 384 one ounce servings; beef bouillon for 218 servings of 6 fluid ounces; chicken and beef-flavored gravies for 384 of 2 ounce servings; sufficient iodized salt and non-dairy creamer; adequate baking powder and yeast. 10 cans — 2 #10, and 8 #3.

TOTAL: 118 #10 cans, 8 #3 cans. Packed in 20 cartons. (NOTE: None of the items listed here require special care of refrigeration for long shelf life. However, yeast and baking powder will stay fresh longer if kept in cold storage.)

ALSO AVAILABLE: A 5 month Ready-Reserve supply providing all necessary items for a 5 month period. The supply comes in 8 cases and weighs 220 pounds. Cost is $290 plus between $20 and $50 shipping charges. The variety and quantity is smaller than for the yearly supply, but fully adequate nourishment is included for 5 months. Trial-Pak available for $5.

WATER PURIFICATION SUPPLIES: 1) A water filter, which removes sediment, and 500 halazone tablets (sufficient for 120 gallons), available for $10; 2) A unique water purifier, reviewed and recommended by reputable consumer magazines, which purifies up to 1500 gallons, available for $32 (regularly retails at $39.95). Water purification supplies sold only to purchasers of food supplies.

IMPORTANT NOTICE: Many persons wanting food insurance have asked if our supplies can be obtained on a time payment basis. Nevada Coin Exchange does not encourage customers to become more in debt. But food is more vital for survival than any other item. Therefore we have made arrangements with Master Charge and BankAmericard to enable time payments (or cash payouts) for purchases from us. If you wish to use this service, please fill in your Master Charge or BankAmericard number on the order form.

COIN INVESTMENTS: Our emphasis here on food is not intended to downgrade the importance of gold and silver coins. The dollar can be expected to go the way of the German Mark in 1923. Worsening monetary conditions are probably coming, and it is not too late to begin or enlarge a supply of real money — gold and silver coins.

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FULL GUARANTEE: If unsatisfied, you may return coins and/or food ordered to Nevada Coin Exchange within ten days for a complete refund of your purchase, plus complete refund of any shipping charges.

The pure net gold contents of the listed coins in Troy ounces are as follows:

U. S. $20 gold coins (Double Eagles)	.9675 Troy ounces	Austrian 100 Coronas	.9802 Troy ounces
Mexican 50 Pesos	1.2056 Troy ounces	Austrian 4 Ducats	.4438 Troy ounces
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(Any combination totalling 5 cases for yearly supply; 2 cases for 5 months supply. Whole cases only.)

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PLEASE SEND INFORMATION ON: ☐ grain grinders (hand and power); ☐ freeze-dried meats; ☐ survival books; ☐ other supplies.

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NOTE: Coin orders shipped by fully insured mail (paid by us). Food shipped via truck from processor. Shipping charges (varying between $20 and $80 for yearly supply or $50 maximum for the 5 months supply) payable by purchaser on receipt of order. We guarantee to pay the difference on food shipping charges exceeding $80 on yearly supply or $40 for 5 months supply within 48 contiguous states. Shipping charges to the more populated areas of Alaska and Hawaii, approximately 25% higher.

Canadian orders, $15 handling charge.

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THE FOUNTAINHEAD

Charles Derry

Is there any libertarian who would not agree that Ayn Rand's *The Fountainhead* is a literary masterpiece? Probably not. But there are few libertarians who would agree that the film version of *The Fountainhead* represents an achievement of equal magnitude. Most people seem to judge the movie by the extent of its slavishness to the book. By criticizing all aspects of the film which do not correspond to the revered novel, they fall into the trap that Ms. Rand was intelligent enough to avoid in her screenplay: that is, assuming that in order to be as successful a work of art, the film must *be* the book.

Just as her hero Roark realizes that in architecture form must follow function, Rand realizes that the form and style of each medium must be determined by that medium's basic nature. A novel must be literary, since its main elements are its words. However, a movie can exist without words. The simple difference is that a movie must be a moving picture in the literal sense, since its most important elements are its ever-changing pictorial compositions. Were Rand to have transposed *The Fountainhead* from book to film without making any changes to compensate for the two media's very different basic natures, the film would have been a very unsuccessful spectacle indeed. Fortunately for us, Rand's aesthetic sense is far more sophisticated than many of her fans' who, in their idolization of the novel, dismiss the film and Rand's screenplay as compromised, cheapened, Hollywood *kitsch.*

Historically, the idea of film as film had its most consistent, and indeed, flamboyant period in Germany during the twenties. During this period directors such as Lang, Murnau, Dupont, and Wiene realized very fully the importance of emphasizing stylized composition. It was these German directors who experimented most effectively with the concepts of moving camera, and stylization in both acting and scene design. This influence can be seen very clearly in *The Fountainhead.* (In fact, Rand has expressed her admiration for Fritz Lang and the German directors; indeed, it was both the German silent cinema and the American cinema that she found so attractive when she was still living in Russia.)

However, for Rand to have known what she wanted to achieve, and for her to have actually achieved it, are two very different things; aside from the differences in the basic nature of the two media, there is one crucial difference in the basis of each medium's production. Whereas the novel is highly personal and created by one person, the movie is a collaborative art, where the contributing artists and craft people must work, fight, and sometimes compromise their often conflicting visions in order to deliver the film on time and within the budget. The situation is particularly difficult for the writer—especially the writer who is interested in his script's stylistic and pictorial elements as well as its dialogue. On the movie set, it is the director who is king. And on *The Fountainhead,* Rand had King Vidor for her director. Vidor was then already well known for his professionalism, his very striking ability to organize and creatively direct many different kinds of films.

Ironically, it is clear that King Vidor did not really understand *The Fountainhead.* In one interview (in *The Celluloid Muse,* by Charles Higham and Joel Greenberg) Vidor has stated that he greatly disliked *The Fountainhead's* ending, because "It was silly to have an architect blow up a building just because they changed some of the facade." Yet Vidor's lack of complete understanding did not ultimately get in the way of the picture. Of Rand he has said, "She's a very determined person. She knows exactly what she wants and is not easily persuaded. She agreed to work on the script only if they promised not to change it without her consent." And since Vidor respected Ayn Rand's talents, their filmic "marriage" was—if occasionally a stormy union with Rand coming onto the set frequently to supervise, argue, and guard against compromise—one which proved finally fruitful and consistent with Ayn Rand's vision. For any writer to achieve his intentions in a finished film in 1948 is remarkable. For a writer with Rand's ideas and sense of style to achieve this is mind-boggling.

Unfortunately, the one element of any film over which the writer can have almost no control is that of the performances of the chosen actors. And it is in this area that the few problems in *The Fountainhead* are centered. Because of the casting, most of the characters appear considerably aged—Peter Keating, for instance, appears to be past 35 from the beginning. And although this is not really good (for it helps to contribute to a curious lack of epic feeling in the movie; when a character says years have passed, you tend to doubt him), it does allow for the casting of a

Charles Derry is a graduate student in cinema at the University of Southern California, and an aspiring screenwriter.

AS FILM

middle-aged Gary Cooper as Howard Roark. Cooper is not perfect as Roark, but he brings a quiet integrity to the role that works masterfully. His performance is stylized quite nicely—there is almost a complete lack of nonessentials. And even further, he brings a humor to Roark; and it is a positive humor that suggests a positive sense of life and allows for the creation of a three-dimensional character. Patricia Neal (who reminds one physically of the young Rand) gives a performance as Dominique which is extremely good; she uses her voice as a terse and resounding instrument, especially after Dominique drops her hauteur and realizes she has the courage to stand up for what she believes. Any quarreling with the way Neal and Cooper handle their dramatic scenes is probably a mistake: the stylized and very dramatic acting style may seem exaggerated to us in 1974, but this does not mean that it is bad, just alien to our usual viewing experience. After all, the naturalistic method style of acting has dominated the motion picture for the last two decades. Perhaps the worst performance is that of the actor portraying Ellsworth Toohey. Although the dialogue may contain the subtlety and psychology of the cowardly totalitarian parasite, the actor's interpretation of the role (his walk, his voice, his business, his mannerisms) suggests that Toohey is just a typical "evil Nazi." As such, Toohey does not appear as clearly the Roarkian antipode as was possible and that Rand probably intended.

Yet in the long run, the performances are only minor elements in evaluating *The Fountainhead,* and certainly not as important as the dialogue or, especially, the film's visual skill. And as previously stated, the film *is* visual to an overwhelming degree. For instance, Ellsworth Toohey's first appearance is as a black silhouetted figure looming large in the foreground. Although the action largely excludes him in this beginning scene, the psychological and thematic situation becomes clear without the need of a word of dialogue: Toohey, a man of shadowy ideas, is ready to try to dominate when the time is right. Later, when Howard Roark is turned down a commission because of his integrity, he walks past a window which reveals the New York skyline. It is this skyline that results when individuals of integrity are looked down upon, it is this skyline that is waiting for Roark. When Henry Cameron dies, the image is particularly powerful, for in the ambulance the red cross works as a double comment: it both marks the crucifixion of Cameron, and suggests that the city buildings over which the cross is superimposed is in need of first aid. Thus through the visual element alone Cameron's state is equated with architecture's state.

At the end of the film, during the trial, an entire philosophical stand and Wynand's consciousness of it is explained through the visual action of Wynand rising. Now of course this scene is in the novel, but in the film the image (coming right after Roark's brilliant speech) is much more powerful: the horizontal contrasting with the two verticals; and even more, the verticality of the men suggests the nobility of Roark's skyscrapers. The visual integration throughout the film is remarkable in its consistency and power. Note the stylized and inexorable smoothness with which the drawer opens when Wynand commits suicide. Of course the image is right: his suicide, or rather his self-execution, is the natural extension. If Roark is not guilty, Wynand *is* guilty. Mention too must be made of the excellent picturization of the architecture. When the Greek portico is added to the model of Roark's creation, when the Cortlandt Homes are built with the ugly additions, the audience groans and understands the nature of the parasites and the idea of integrity in both Roark and architecture.

Although this review does not pretend to be a complete analysis of the film, it does try to point out those areas of the film that have been largely ignored (that is, the visual) and provoke increased study along similar lines. And if one should still doubt the remarkable integration and power of the visual element, one should consider the final brilliancy, the genius which I have left for last. The final minutes of the film are perhaps the most successful realization of film as film that I have seen. Throughout the movie Roark was constantly shown close to the earth—for instance, when he worked in the quarry. When he visited the Enright House, he, unlike the others, arrived in the ballroom from a stairway that came up into the room. The camera was often placed above his head, emphasizing his striving to rise. The final sequence is a stunningly dramatic event that—although it appears in the novel itself—in the film turns into an unbelievably powerful visual metaphor for Rand's theme. Dominique goes up the skyscraper that Roark is building. We think she's almost to the top, but no, the building goes even higher—higher than the earth and all its buildings. And then, for really the first time, we see Howard Roark from below—perched in the clouds as a god. We see him from Dominique's point of view (with subjective camera), so we, in fact *are* Dominique and are trying to rise to Roark's level. The scene is more than mere literal exhilaration. Howard Roark has achieved success. Through work, ideals, and integrity, he has become a god. And only through work, ideals, and integrity can others possibly rise to the same level. For it is Roark's inviolable mind which is the fountainhead of all human progress. ◻

editorial

REFLECTIONS ON CRIMINAL PUNISHMENT AND DISBARMENT IN THE AFTERMATH OF WATERGATE

"I have expressed to the appropriate authorities my view that no individual holding, in the past or present, a position of major importance in the Administration should be given immunity from prosecution."—**Richard M. Nixon, April 17, 1973**

With the resignation of former President Richard M. Nixon in the wake of his admission of early complicity in the Watergate coverup, much debate has arisen as to whether Mr. Nixon should be criminally prosecuted or disbarred, or whether he has already been punished enough by becoming the first American President to resign.

At its annual convention in August, the American Bar Association House of Delegates unanimously adopted a carefully worded resolution opposing leniency for high offenders—without mentioning Mr. Nixon by name. Meanwhile, the bars of New York and California have each begun preliminary investigations to determine whether Mr. Nixon should be banned from practicing law again.

With respect to the question of criminal prosecution, it seems clear from his own admission that Mr. Nixon is guilty of the federal crime of obstruction of justice, aside from other evidence of criminal wrongdoing. Although the issue has been the subject of heated controversy, we can see no reason why a criminal should not be prosecuted merely because he has resided in the White House for several years. Because he was President is not an argument for immunity, but for prosecution, to show that no person who commits a crime—not even a former President—should be above the law. The principle of equal justice requires that all the Watergate defendants be prosecuted if the evidence warrants, without singling out the principal co-conspirator for immunization. From the standpoints of general deterrence and retribution, the purpose of criminal punishment would be appropriately served by the Watergate special prosecutor proceeding against Mr. Nixon.

Although the debate centers largely around the question of criminal prosecution, we consider the meaningful question to be whether Mr. Nixon should be disbarred. We strongly urge that Mr. Nixon not be disbarred, and we go on record as opposing the disbarment of other lawyers directly involved in the Watergate affair including those already disbarred, John W. Dean III and G. Gordon Liddy, and those who still face possible disbarment: John D. Erlichman, John Mitchell, et al.

* * *

"The right to make a living is among the greatest of human rights . . . ."
—**Georgia Supreme Court (1925)**

"[O]n the theory that an attorney has a vested property right *in maintaining a practice already established, . . . 'To disbar an attorney is to deprive him of what, within the meaning of our constitutions of government, may fairly be regarded as property.' "*—**California Supreme Court (1966)**

"It would be giving too dangerous a power to governments were they allowed to exclude anyone from professions . . . for alleged deficiency of qualifications . . . ."
—**John Stuart Mill, ON LIBERTY**

The issue of disciplining lawyers by disbarment has gained national focus with the number of lawyers involved in Watergate and with the recent disbarment of former Vice-President Spiro Agnew after his pleading "no contest" to a change of income tax evasion.

The rationale behind disbarment of attorneys is founded on the notion that membership in the bar is a privilege conferred by the state and one which is open only to those who have and maintain good professional and private character, and that the public must be protected from attorneys whose conduct demonstrates unfitness to practice. Disbarment is claimed not to be a form of punishment, but a necessary means of regulating the bar in the "public interest."

In pursuit of this goal, lawyers have been permanently barred from the practice of law for acts such as *violating the prohibition laws* (a 1926 Kansas case said that having a single bottle of liquor on an attorney's kitchen shelf was sufficient to show moral turpitude), *evasion of income taxes* (Spiro Agnew was not the first to be disbarred on this ground), *regularly putting slugs into parking meters* (an unusual 1951 Maryland case), *actively participating in the work of an "Anticonscription League" which had the aim of opposing the Selective Service Act during World War I* (Idaho Supreme Court, 1921), *and advising men seeking to escape military service during World War I and refusing to represent individuals not claiming a draft exemption* (Washington Supreme Court, 1920).

In deriving positive lessons from Watergate, it is appropriate to reexamine widely-held assumptions about the power of government over the individual. The Watergate scandal has provided the public with a deeper insight into the weaknesses and limitations of government, thus helping to demythologize the workings of government and government officials.

It is a hallmark of an authoritarian system to treat transactions between individuals as transactions between the individual and the state—so that private wrongs are translated into public crimes, and an injury is not treated as committed by one person against another, but by the person against the state itself. Similarly, the authoritarian system uses the coercive powers of the state to determine what occupation individuals may pursue and what prices they may charge for their services. Unfortunately, this approach has not been confined to Communist countries, but is inherent in the vast, widespread use of occupational licensing. As shown by Walter Gellhorn in his valuable book, *Individual Freedom and Governmental Restraints,* the thrust of occupational licensing is towards "attaching legal consequences to essentially private determinations of what are ethically or economically permissible practices," in addition to decreasing competition by restricting access to the occupation.

Necessarily involved in the grant of exclusive privileges to a licensed occupation is the power to exclude the unlicensed from their exercise. Even though an accountant may know more about tax law than many lawyers, the government allows prosecution of accountants (and other nonlawyers such as trust officers, labor relations advisers, etc.) for offering services which are deemed to constitute the practice of law. The Wisconsin Supreme Court boldly declared in a 1962 case: "We need not and we should not acknowledge a layman's right to practice law in a specialized field because the layman appears to be competent in it."

Instead of licensing, we advocate the use of *certification,* which may be handled by private, voluntary associations, such as professional or consumer organizations. If membership in a particular bar association is meaningful in terms of the competence and moral character of its members, consumers will patronize nonmembers at their peril. A voluntary bar association can set whatever standards it desires for membership. But let the public decide for itself if it is willing to patronize an attorney who may have been guilty of drinking during prohibition, or evading his income taxes, and because of that is not a member of a particular bar association.

Certification is distinct from licensing, because it would not restrict anyone from practicing without a certificate. Under a system of certification, it is up to individual consumers to choose whether to use the services of a practitioner who is certified, or one who is not. This is the system which is used in many states in the field of accountancy, where anyone can be an accountant, but only those who pass a particular examination can hold themselves out as a Certified Public Accountant (C.P.A.).

We believe that the power of the state to license occupations and restrict individu-

als from earning a living as they choose is both wrong and counterproductive. It violates a fundamental human right, and operates primarily to benefit members of a licensed occupation at the expense of excluding potential competitors (including significant numbers of blacks and other minority groups), resulting in higher fees for those who are licensed.

In a discussion of occupational licensing in *Capitalism and Freedom,* Milton Friedman persuasively demonstrates how assurances of quality can emerge in the absence of licensing, and how, in the case of medical practice, licensure has reduced both the quantity and quality of medical service. The current attempts to prohibit the practice of acupuncture by nondoctors illustrate the means used to restrict individuals from obtaining treatment they desire from practitioners of their choice.

Is there any justification for government control over an individual's economic activities? Perhaps the primary argument for licensing is the paternalistic claim that individuals are incapable of satisfactorily selecting their own lawyer, physician or barber. But if this were true, how can we trust individuals to select their elected representatives? Considering the workings of the market place as contrasted with the political process, it is clear that consumers are much more capable of spending their money for products or services they desire than they are able to go to the polls to vote for a politician who will perform satisfactorily.

We can see a case being made for prohibiting politicians from holding elective office if they lie or otherwise show they are not morally fit to hold office. It makes sense to advocate that individuals (lawyers or otherwise) who infringe the rights of others or show a want of integrity should be barred from running for public office, to help assure that government officials —who feed at the public trough—possess the virtues of truth, candor, honesty and respect for individual rights. But in contrast to officials whose salaries are derived from public taxation, we believe that fallen politicians, including Mr. Nixon and Mr. Agnew—while they should be held accountable for their crimes—should be allowed to practice law or any other livelihood they choose so long as they are able to find clients voluntarily willing to pay them for their services. After all, why should a lawyer have to pay a higher price —by forfeiting his profession—than a non-lawyer who commits the same crime? To disbar Mr. Nixon *ought* to be prohibited as an unconstitutional deprivation of his property without *due process* of law, and *should* be barred by the constitutional proscriptions against *double jeopardy* (were disbarment to follow prosecution) and *cruel and unusual punishment*—but, unfortunately, these constitutional arguments carry little weight today. In a free society, we should insist on protecting the fundamental freedom to choose one's livelihood—even for ex-politicians.

MANUEL S. KLAUSNER

money $

PRICE-GOUGING MERCHANTS AND LILY-LIVERED POLITICIANS

It it pretty hard these days to avoid advice on protecting yourself and loved ones from the coming inflation. I hate to sound like Alfred E. Neuman, but the more I think about the problem the more I am moved to ask: "What, me worry?"

Let's begin by agreeing that inflation is an evil and immoral strategy of the State. Let us also admit that inflation may, in an extreme case, have unpleasant political consequences, as crowds lynch price-gouging merchants and generals on horseback boot out lily-livered politicians.

But if you're not a price-gouging merchant or lily-livered politician, how important *is* the problem?

As we all know by now, those on fixed dollar annuities or private pensions are in for a rough time. On the other hand, in a world in which all values are in a constant flux, why should we demand that one value—the dollar—remain constant. It might be nice if it did, just as it might be nice if the price of potatoes were a constant, but then it might also be nice if all girls were pretty and all boys handsome. We can live with things as they are.

If we don't get upset when the value of potatoes falls, why should we tear our hair when a particular money unit does likewise. If a person holds a potato contract in a falling market, we would simply advise him to sell his potatoes and buy frozen orange juice or commercial real estate or something else that wasn't declining in value. Our private annuitant or pensioner should do likewise. If his rights are not marketable, he simply made a bad contract and he must bear the consequences, as it always is in the free market.

The same is true of bond holders, mortgagees, persons with savings accounts, and creditors in general. If they are still holding 4% obligations, they have no one to blame but themselves.

This brings us to the problem of interest rates and inflation. As we know, the political benefits of inflation are the consequence of the true rate of inflation exceeding the expected rate. This is what makes the extra money work its magic: people think the inflated money is worth more than it really is.

From this we would assume that the real rate of inflation will tend to exceed the expected rate (at least in the early period of the inflationary cycle) and that interest rates would consequently underestimate the true loss in purchasing power.

Do the facts bear this out? Perhaps not. In an as yet unpublished study done by a University of Chicago economist, it appears that the market rate of interest shows a high correlation with the actual rate of inflation. If this is correct, then it would seem that a sufficiently rapid turnover of market rate lending (e.g., 90 day paper) might make it possible to earn an adequate rate of return on interest transactions.

It is true, of course, that the small saver cannot get the market rate on his savings, but that is the result of government interference rather than the economics of inflation.

Davis E Keeler

Another complaint about inflation is that wages always lag behind. This is an empirical question and the evidence suggests that this perceived lag really doesn't exist. Alchian and Allen, a couple of good free-marketeers, in their book *University Economics,* discuss this misconception, which they attribute to a number of causes, among them the fact that while the individual's earnings per unit increase at intervals over time, his expenses, being an *average,* appear to continually increase. The fact is, they assert, that the wage earner lags behind for awhile and then gets ahead for awhile, with the average for the individual over time working out about even. Interestingly enough, the only employee who may not be keeping up may be the government worker, although here the data are unclear.

Another objection to inflation is that it is a form of covert wealth transfer. While this is undoubtedly true, it is not all that clear who's getting it. The political intent is quite likely to give it to the unionized workers and they undoubtedly are among the recipients. But the overall wealth transfer from creditors to debtors, inflation's Robin Hood effect, is much more confused. It appears that there are no significant class lines to be drawn between debtors and creditors, and therefore no predictable inter-class transfers resulting from inflation.

The fact is that to most people dollar savings are not a significant aspect of their financial survival. For most people, their principal security lies in their earnings potential and savings accumulated in a home, education of their children, and, to a lesser extent, equity investments. If

(concluded on page 42)

foreign correspondent

MADAM PRESIDENT

Buenos Aires. On July 1, President Peron of Argentina died. A mood of different degrees of anxiety overcame most Argentines, of every political creed and socio-economic level, with the exception of groups of the extreme left and of the so-called "gorillas" on the right (staunch, die-hard "anti-Peronists"), who were overjoyed by his death—because, for the leftists, a new revolutionary situation might now emerge and, for the rightists, because at last the old and hated Public Enemy Number One was defeated by Nature.

To independents such as myself, who did not agree with Peron's ideology and attitudes, the prevalent thought was, and up to a point still is, what will happen now? Because, to the surprise of many, both his followers and opponents, in the last year or so Peron came to mean a moderate influence on old-style authoritarians and neo-Marxists recently infiltrated in his own movement and government. In fact, he became the leader of moderation and mutual respect, providing a much needed cooling influence in our fragile political system.

His death lay open, again, one of the major ills of every society: total uncertainty. Will the neo-fascist and neo-Marxist sects acquire larger influence in the government or on the whole political scene? Will we have a stable government? Or any government at all? (Bear in mind that the absence of any governments, today, here, does not mean, precisely, an anarchistic utopia.) Now that he who had enough political pull to contain inflationary demands is dead, will we fall into a process of economic demagoguery and a spiraling inflation worse than ever before?

The prevalent and most sincere answer to all these questions has been: let's *hope* for the better, but nothing suggests so. *Anything* could happen now, and even the wildest possibilities—for example, a leftist guerrilla uprising ending in a civil war—became for the first time really within the limits of possible. Today, July 27, nearly a month after Peron's death, nothing drastically bad has happened yet, and the whole country is—still apprehensively—marching on, but safer every day it passes by, with Peron's Vice President and wife, Maria Estela Martinez (alias Isabelita) as the new President. Cashing in on the aura of her late husband's legend, she apparently is managing to do her work, with the support of the "loyal opposition," the Armed Forces, the Church, independents and, with the exceptions mentioned at the beginning, of nearly everybody in sight.

The strain put upon our much-battered political system by Peron's death might be too much; that is why we are holding our breath, waiting—and doing our best—for society to accommodate to the new reality, to the emptiness created by the disappearance of the charismatic leader, the magical do-gooder, the Father of many Argentines. Obviously enough, a community such as ours, so dependent on a single man, was and still is rather sick, to say the least. This fact suggests a possible and really positive consequence out of all this: Argentina, its men and women, the political system, will now have to walk alone, think and act by themselves, instead of relying upon an irreplaceable man. This new absence of our paternalistic figure entails a danger but also, if we are able to do it, a major breakthrough. If we can proceed peacefully without the personal presence of Peron, we shall have attained the political maturity we lost somewhere behind and may expect some kind of future.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN

The surprising emergence of a woman as new President of Argentina suggests a brief consideration of a subject that overexposure may have made rather boring to American readers: an examination of what is happening down here with regard to Feminism.

It is my firm belief that one of the frontiers through which the road toward a free society passes is the liberation of women. As the Yoko Ono/Lennon song said, "Women are the niggers of the world." I have always found it disturbing that the libertarian movement was not in the vanguard of the civil rights campaign (pressing for noncoercive approaches rather than advocating government coercion to impose libertarian moral views upon others), and recently I also found it puzzling why young libertarians have not been in the vanguard of a sane, nonhysteric movement toward woman's ancestral liberation from social, economic, cultural, and political domination.

I believe those two omissions (by way of example) are somehow related to the relative failure of libertarians to capture the imagination of considerable numbers of young idealists. As far as I know, no libertarian ever planned a constitutional amendment or a general withholding of taxes or any other scheme to assure that *basic* individual rights were in fact recognized for colored people; they were too busy fighting against a budget deficit or an increase of taxes. This fact tells a lot.

As to Argentina, some say it was about time, others contend that it is merely another example of "cultural colonialism" and others still reject it furiously, but the fact is that women's lib has arrived in Latin America too—the land of machismo, Latin lovers and so on.

There are at present various groups of women's liberationists, of which I cannot perceive the differences as yet (although I am sure there must be some). Let's just say that one of them is called UFA, for Union Feminista Argentina, a self-explanatory name without need of any translation, but also meaning a slang word used to denote impatience. They are getting exposure in the mass-media, and are characterized by an intellectual, nonextremist approach, not devoted to "direct action": no sit-ins, public demonstrations, boycotts or the like. They diagnose that women have been and still are dependent human beings, due to cultural, not biological, differences, and that this is a status to be changed. They believe that motherhood is not the only way to fulfill their human potential, being perfectly capable of achieving any professional, intellectual or generally human goal men can achieve. For UFA most women of today are "alienated by culture, religion, social conventions, economic pressures and education." They concretely reject political margination, married dependence, unwanted pregnancy, economic subordination and commercial erotization. There are no lesbian connotations so far, and there is not a strategy of direct confrontation with men. As one spokesman of UFA said,

there could not be, when "We share the bed."

It must be recognized that progress in the last 10 years has been noticeable. If we take a look at the sexual composition of the student population of the University of Buenos Aires—the biggest and, till recently, the most prestigious—we can see that women are a very important percentage, from a low 10-20 percent in Engineering and Economics, to a high 70-80 percent in History, Literature and Arts, through a strong 30-50 percent in Medicine, Law, etc.

OUT IN THE WORLD

Professionally, women have fared better —as everywhere—in Education, being an absolute majority since many years ago among primary level teachers, a simple majority of high-school professors and a growing minority at the university level. Another field in which women have had a comparatively good record of integration is Law: there are many women lawyers, a good number of judges and one of the five members of the Argentine Supreme Court until 1973 was Margarita Arguas, a well-known expert on International Private Law. There are also many physicians (although more pediatricians than surgeons), dentists, architects and a lesser number of accountants.

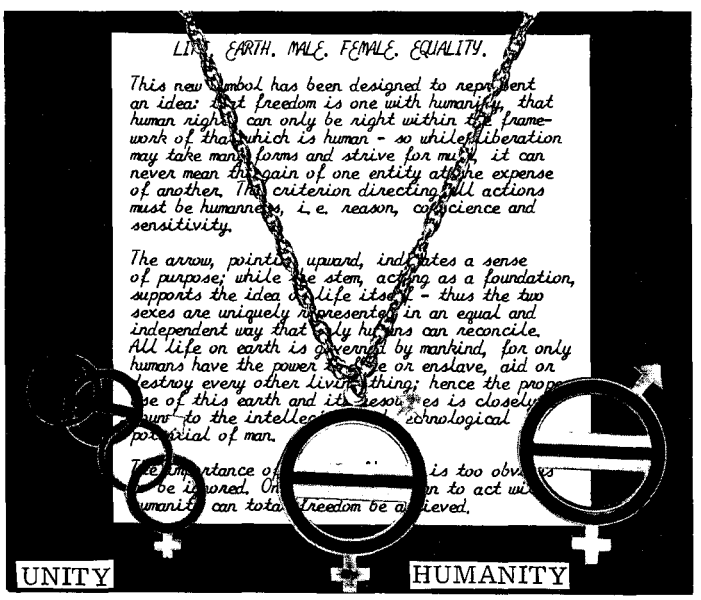
In business, a few years ago it was considered a major novelty if a woman reached the level of bank branch manager. There are very few high-level executives, most of them in the cosmetic industries and the like. On the other hand, there are a lot of small businesses owned and/or run by women. There are some female taxi-drivers and gas station attendants. In the factories, women have been traditionally a majority in some lines of production such as textiles.

In the public service, women are probably a majority in low-level jobs, but there has never been a female Governor, and only a small number of Congresswomen. Of course, in the political realm, the emergence of famous Eva Peron in the late forties as the First Lady of also then President Peron, was of major relevance, since she became a leader of women of poor condition, almost a candidate to the Vice Presidency and was a major force behind the first female vote in 1951. She died still young in 1952 and now, 20 years later, "Isabelita" wife of Peron, too, achieves that which "Evita" could never attain.

As to sexual mores, the so-called "double standard" still reigns, but is declining. Argentina is still one of the few countries without divorce—a dubious distinction—and it defines in a different way the crime (yes, crime) of adultery according to the sex of the adulterer (the woman becomes one if she has one sexual relationship with a man other than her husband, while the man only becomes guilty if he continuously lives in his house with a woman not his wife). Birth control is very common in the high and middle classes and abortion is still a crime about which no relevant issue has yet been made. This description becomes worse when you move to the rural areas, and there are large pockets of women in special psychological and social conditions where no significant change has come about in the last 50 years.

As you see, after this brief and impressionistic view of woman's role in Argentina, given the cultural tradition of "machismo," the situation could very well be worse. As to our new female President, she has been the loving and devoted wife of a man she obviously worshipped and her mentality seems to be very far away from the feminist one. Yet, the mere fact of her doing her job is, I am sure, a good influence upon men and women—women and men (sorry)—of this and neighboring countries.

N. GUILLERMO MOLINELLI



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book review

Reviewed by PAUL VARNELL

AFTER THE GOOD WAR. By Peter Roger Breggin. New York: Stein and Day. 1972. 235 pp.

The literary tradition of the utopia is now quite dead. It was born with the Enlightenment and the hope that human beings could firmly and finally establish a regime with enough power and wisdom to guarantee peace, happiness, and prosperity for everyone. It reached its high point in the late nineteenth century when, augmented by various ideas of collectivism, it produced such works as Bellamy's *Looking Backward,* Morris's *News from Nowhere,* and Wells's *Modern Utopia.* It was killed off mainly by the obvious irrationality and horror of World War One and the rise of the viciously rational (structured according to an ideology) total state in the Soviet Union. Its last gasps were the ludicrously entitled *Walden Two* (1948) and Huxley's pastiche of Southern California fads, *Island* (1962).

What rose out of the ruins of people's hopes for combining benevolence with coercion was the "anti-utopia" or "dystopia," apprehensive of a combination of coercion with irrationality or malevolence First Zamiatin, then Huxley, Rand, C. S. Lewis, and Orwell proceeded to describe various regimes all of which attempted to impose an order or structure on society but which failed (whether through malice or error) to allow for the full development of human individuality and which systematically suppressed independent thought. In the classical dystopias plot was of relatively minor importance and even characterization was secondary; the main purposes were three: to show the fundarnental nature of the regime—that is, its fundamental principles; to show those principles in operation—that is, the kinds of social control the regime found it necessary to exercise over its subjects; and to show those principles made flesh—that is, what sort of people the regime produced or required.

Anti-utopias have proliferated since *1984.* Evelyn Waugh, Ray Bradbury, David Karp, Kurt Vonnegut, L. P. Hartley, Anthony Burgess, Ira Levin, James Park Sloan, and Geo. Alec Effinger have all used that *genre* as a vehicle for their analyses of various forms and methods of tyranny. It is to this tradition that Dr. Peter Breggin's second novel, *After the Good War,* belongs.

The novel takes place 112 years after the "good war," a totally successful preventive war which resulted in world hegemony for the United States. The State has assumed responsibility for the public happiness, and has determined, not entirely incorrectly, that a state of individuality or independence can be productive of genuine unhappiness. Thus, the State proclaims that "the group" is the basic social unit, that dependency is a cardinal good, and that physical pleasure—especially sex, of course—is to be officially encouraged. To make sure that the people are continuously happy the largest bureaucracy in the State is that of the National Agency for Mental Security, a sort of State psychiatric institute which requires frequent "attitude checks," implants pleasure producing brain probes, practices psycho-surgery, and—in extreme cases—something called "capping" which renders the subject a harmless happy drone.

The chief evil the regime recognizes is The Hebrew Disease, an atavistic survival of a condition associated with Jews in which the victim cries or feels shame or guilt or anxiety and accordingly is more than usually aware of himself as an individual thinking and feeling being. But of course, such feelings are simply the reverse side of the ability to feel love, pride, self-esteem, and joy, so that incapacity to feel the former is incapacity to feel the latter. Sex serves the book as a metaphor for this whole issue: the effect of frequent sex with a demand for high performance produces a continuous genitalic ache in most men; their impossible desire is for absolutely painless pleasure. The Hebrew Disease, of course, turns out to be Individualism pure and simple. (One of the best glosses on the Hebrew Disease would be Lane's *Discovery of Freedom,* Pt. II, Ch. 1.)

The plot concerns one T.E.P. Rogar (an obvious avatar of PETer ROGER Breggin), a historian who is urged by a kind of vision to try to understand the Hebrew Disease and account for its origin. Such an enterprise involves him in reconstructing history between the U.S. of 1970 and his own time, a happy occasion for something like a roller-coaster ride through Breggin's (deliberately) fanciful and provoking extrapolations from current social trends, as well as the plausible results of a world without pressures or conflict after the Good War. Breggin's scenario contains veiled references—satiric, if you will—to contemporary culture from wispy allusions like "I only have needs for you" to short jabs at B. S. Fakir (author of *Beyond People*) and a Vonnegut-like "Church of Abused Mankind."

In accumulating material on the disease, Rogar gradually is able to reconstruct the Pentateuch ("I AM WHO AM" keeps echoing in his mind), the Declaration of Independence, and a book by another avatar of the author, one O. Peter Braggard, M.D., an opponent of State psychiatry and psycho-surgery in our own time. Perhaps Braggard's most interesting notion is that by his time virtually no one could be called independent any longer: "He defined the typical American as *Non*dependent whose apparent freedom was really an inability to relate to anyone" (p. 37). This psycho-emotional poverty is simply institutionalized in the era of the novel. One way, perhaps the only way, out of this shallowness is to experience genuine love. Rogar early on meets, conspires with, and comes to love one J.A.R.D. Gambol, and the growth of his love for her results in greater self-understanding and self-awareness. At this point the inadequacy of the pain-pleasure dichotomy becomes clear. There is a greater good: being a man, or woman, or full human being.

Finally, having determined that he has the Hebrew Disease, Rogar realizes that he must try to escape with Gambol, and the last part of the book retells that attempt. Taken altogether, the book is a clever and thought-provoking performance, told with sufficient distance and detachment so that the reader is prevented from watching the plot too exclusively and is encouraged to reflect on what he is reading. Breggin's ideas about the necessary nature of childhood, the development of the "self," the category "human being," and individuality properly understood (the real topics of the book) are well worth brooding on. ◻

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movies

REVIEWED BY CHARLES BARR

• Judging by the explosive critical and box-office reaction, **DEATH WISH** has succeeded in touching a raw nerve in American society. The plot is disarmingly simple: A man's wife is killed and his daughter driven insane by a gang of muggers, and to avenge them he becomes a vigilante, baiting muggers on the streets of New York City and then shooting them to death, as the audience cheers. But the movie itself is well-crafted and complex; it is not a crude attempt at exploitation of urban paranoia, and despite its portrayal of the vigilante as hero, it is not one-sided. Charles Bronson stars as a pacifist and former conscientious objector who makes a decent living as an architectural consultant. When his wife (Hope Lange) and daughter (Kathleen Tolan) are beaten and raped in their own apartment by a thoroughly vile and scummy gang of muggers, Bronson is emotionally wiped out. His employer sends him to work on a project in Tucson, hoping to take his mind off his wife's death. But the frontier atmosphere induces subtle changes in Bronson's outlook on life. He returns to New York and begins systematically wiping out muggers, while a police investigative unit, headed by Vincent Gardenia, tries to find him and put a stop to his activities. The movie is obviously slanted in favor of Bronson's one-man crusade; opposing points of view are presented, not as evil, but simply as ineffectual. The police are hamstrung by rules and regulations (many policemen secretly admire what Bronson is doing), and the liberal philosophy seems helpless in dealing with the hoodlums and small-time terrorists who infest the city. As in the recent television movie, *Outrage,* taking the law into one's own hands is seen as a last resort, but one that, given certain conditions, can be justified. The film makes its statement powerfully and persuasively; and judging by the favorable and highly emotional audience response, *Death Wish* is a movie that has long been overdue. Rated "R."

• **THE GROOVE TUBE,** a satire on American television, is a series of comedy sketches ranging from very good to perfectly awful. Much of the material is crude and sophomoric, with the longest sequences somehow turning out to be the dullest. Highlights include a clown reading *Fanny Hill* to the kiddies, after the grown-ups have left the room; a scholarly talk show that slowly disintegrates as coffee and sandwiches are passed around; and the "international sex games," which are described in lurid detail by the announcer as the television set keeps losing its video signal. Low-lights include an adventure series, "The Dealers," about two drug pushers who can't seem to get it on; the seven o'clock news, which isn't nearly as funny as the real thing; and an icky glue commercial that must be avoided to be appreciated. Overall, *The Groove Tube* is a mixed bag; whether the flashes of humor outweigh the film's overall bad taste is questionable. Rated "R."

• **THE GIRL FROM PETROVKA** is an offbeat, humorous and finally very touching love story, played out against the alien, hostile background of contemporary Russia. Hal Holbrook plays a sardonic, wisecracking American journalist stationed in Moscow, while Goldie Hawn portrays the Russian equivalent of a "free spirit" with a feverish intensity that contrasts sharply with her usual brand of kookiness. Their improbable affair starts off as a battle of wits, as his flippant attitude is matched and finally breached by her unrestrained flights of fancy. Imperceptibly the movie takes on a more serious tone as she risks their developing relationship and her own personal safety to help a talented musician friend escape to freedom in western Europe. The tone of the movie is totally and explicitly anti-communist, a rarity in this alleged age of "detente." Moscow is shown as a joyless place, where foreign clothes are auctioned off within decaying churches, Western music can be played only behind locked doors and shuttered windows, and the lack of work papers brands one as a "parasite" and can result in a stiff prison sentence. The script, by Allen Scott and Chris Bryant and based on George Feifer's book, is a bit drawn out during the first half of the movie, but comes together with mounting interest and suspense during the remainder. The supporting cast, ably headed by Anthony Hopkins and Gregoire Aslan, provides a sense of continuity as the characters of Holbrook and Hawn grow and change under each other's influence. *The Girl From Petrovka* is an exceptional film, and very much worth seeing. Rated "PG." ◻

Muggers attack Hope Lange and Kathleen Tolan in Death Wish.

When longing
is the center-fold of one's life
it creases all the pages
down the middle
leaving your story
half told.

And yet
one never tires
of running along that crease
in hopes
of regaining
the other side.

David A. Narlee

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

When Medicare was being debated a decade ago, nobody in Congress took the time to study what effect there might be on the nation's health care providers when millions of patients began to be subsidized by the federal government. We now know the result: explosive demand for medical care which led to sharply increased costs and distortions of the system. Plans providing for full-coverage national health insurance would have the same kind of result, according to a two-year HEW-sponsored study by the Rand Corporation. The report projects "doctors' offices swamped by patients and . . . physicians charging more but giving each patient less time." The study also throws cold water on the "health care crisis" hysteria promulgated by government-insurance advocates, by pointing out that investment in additional health care services will do little to reduce mortality rates. This is because such services will not affect the major causes of death: auto accidents, smoking, alcoholism, heart disease, and cancer.

As opposed to full-coverage plans (i.e., "free" care for everybody), the researchers also examined plans calling for large and small deductibles (coinsurance), and plans covering only catastrophic occurrences. Such plans would do far less to stimulate demand, because they provide an incentive not to over-use medical facilities, as would happen if they were "free." Without such features, national health insurance would add a minimum of $8 to 16 billion to the nation's present health care costs each year—assuming prices do not rise as a result of the increased demand. If prices do rise, as seems highly likely, the cost increase would be considerably greater.

The research firm of Arthur D. Little has also completed a study in health care for HEW. In devising strategy for implementing Professional Standards Review Organizations (PSROs), the firm made a particular point of stressing: "We cannot envision successful PSROs without the support of a large majority of physicians, and it is difficult to anticipate such support without AMA endorsement." Thus, those doctors who argue that the medical profession must cooperate with PSROs, because they are an inevitable fact of life, are wrong, by the government's own admission. If enough physicians refuse to cooperate with PSROs and make their reasons public, the government will have to back down from this scheme to regulate the practice of medicine.

SOURCES:
- "U.S. Medical Insurance Plan Called No Panacea," Ed Meagher, *Los Angeles Times,* June 13, 1974.
- "The Medical 'Gatekeepers'," Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr., *Private Practice,* April 1974, p. 49.

DRUG SENSE

As Dr. Thomas Szasz points out in this month's REASON interview, making people criminals because of the drugs they use is both immoral and impractical. During the past year of continued enforcement of the nation's "new prohibition," there have been a few rays of hope. One of the most important has been the policy statement on drug addiction of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, one of the country's leading criminal justice research organizations. NCCD recently reissued and reaffirmed its 1964 policy statement asserting that addicts should not be made criminals, but should have (voluntary) access to medical help, including maintenance doses of heroin or methadone. The statement points out that current drug laws prevent the physician from doing his ethical duty, by preventing him from administering a needed drug. NCCD also urges repeal of civil commitment statutes, which are nothing more than euphemisms for jailing. (So far, only Florida has done so, in 1970.)

Maintenance of addicts on methadone is gaining increasing acceptance, and a federal district court recently struck down the FDA's attempt to rigidly control the distribution of this drug. (The suit was brought by the American Pharmaceutical Association, on grounds that the FDA's rules wrongfully interfered with the rights of pharmacists to dispense methadone as an analgesic, its other main use.) Heroin maintenance itself has been endorsed by the San Francisco Committee on Crime, the New York City Narcotics Control Council, and the Vera Institute of Justice. In addition, the Drug Abuse Council has published a 21-page report on the subject, proposing that heroin maintenance be tried experimentally. (Physicians did just that—successfully—for the first ten years of the Harrison Act, until the Federal Narcotics Bureau started arresting them in the 1920's; some 25,000 doctors were arraigned between 1924 and 1938.)

Another encouraging development is the U.S. Senate's recent vote to repeal the "no-knock" provision of the 1970 drug control law, which authorizes the police-state tactic of breaking into buildings without warning. The law has resulted in many tragic raids against innocent families.

Marijuana law reform has recently picked up steam, following Oregon's 1973 decriminalization statute. Outgoing director of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Donald Santarelli called for removal of all criminal penalties for marijuana possession last May, and Washington D.C. Superior Court judge David Norman has concurred. The judge ruled in May that D.C. marijuana penalties are "cruel and unusual," then proceeded to free 52 consecutive pot defendants. Since then, under pressure from the appeals court, Judge Norman has been "postponing" sentencing in all pot cases. In Michigan, meanwhile, voters in Ann Arbor voted to reinstate the city's $5 marijuana fine that had been repealed last year by the city council in favor of the state's tough penalties. A similar lenient law was passed in Ypsilanti. Reform has gone furthest of all in Amsterdam, Holland, where a company that sells marijuana plants and seeds (legally) recently celebrated its fifth anniversary.

SOURCES:
- "Drug Addiction: A Medical, Not a Law Enforcement, Problem," *Crime and Delinquency,* Jan. 1974, p. 4.
- "Methadone: Court Ruling Threatens FDA Regulations," *Science,* July 5, 1974, p. 46.
- "Heroin Maintenance: The Issues," The Drug Abuse Council, Inc., June 1973. (1828 L St., N.W., Washington, DC 20036)
- "De-Penalizing Pot," *Santa Barbara News and Review,* June 7, 1974.
- "Michigan Adopts Lenient Pot Laws," *The Journal* (of the Addiction Research Foundation), May 1, 1974.
- "Marijuana Retail Firm Doing Well in Holland," Reuters (Amsterdam), July 3, 1974.

CURBING EX-IM

One of the reasons transatlantic airlines Pan American and TWA have recently asked for government subsidies is that their European competitors fly subsidized planes. Subsidized by their governments? Guess again. The subsidies, in the form of low-interest government loans, come from the *U.S.* government, via the Export-Import Bank. Since 1967 Ex-Im has provided $4.2 billion in loans to finance the export sale of 1009 commercial jets, generally covering 45 percent of the purchase price. TWA estimates that if it had been able to purchase planes with Ex-Im's cheap money (now running about 7 percent versus the 12 percent that TWA must pay) it would be saving $11 million a year in finance charges.

Thus, it is with some pleasure that one observes the recent calls for Congress to refrain from renewing Ex-Im's authority to make loans when it expired on June 30. Among the most important critics was the *Wall Street Journal,* which pointed out the absurdity of subsidizing

exports, especially when the end result is competition with U.S. firms, and called, in effect, for Ex-Im's abolition. The *Journal* also noted the deception involved in the 1971 law that takes Ex-Im's transactions out of the official U.S. government budget, so that its billion dollar a year impact on the federal deficit would be less visible.

The result of all this criticism was a temporary 30-day extension of the agency's authority, together with an amendment to the pending four-year extension bill, mandating that Ex-Im "should not authorize loans . . . which may have serious effects on the competitive position of the U.S." The amended bill will probably pass, but the new language will at least give the injured industries a basis for challenging some of Ex-Im's proposed loans.

SOURCES:
- "Ex-Im Bank Funds Shortage May Cut Aircraft Exports," Harold D. Watkins, *Los Angeles Times,* June 10, 1974.
- "A Long Look at the Ex-Im Bank." *Wall Street Journal,* June 30, 1974.
- "Easy Money," *Aviation Week,* July 8, 1974, p. 11.

MILESTONES

- *Taxes.* For once a tax has been found unconstitutional! The U.S. Customs Court has ruled that former president Nixon exceeded his constitutional authority in 1971 when he imposed a 10 percent import surcharge, as part of his New Economic Policy. Not only that, the court has ordered that all $500 million collected under the tax be refunded to those who paid it. The three-judge ruling was unanimous, but will be appealed by the government. (Source: "Import Surcharge Held Illegal; Court Orders Big Refunds," UPI (New York), July 9, 1974.)
- *Sugar.* A 40 year old sacred cow, the 1934 Sugar Act, was finally put out to pasture in June. Created by Congress during the Depression, the Act provided subsidies to U.S. sugar producers and set up an elaborate quota system for both domestic production and imports. For years the program has been so politically safe that it was renewed year after year without debate. Rising food prices finally made such an action politically unwise, and the bill to extend the program hit the House floor amidst a torrent of complaints about its cost to consumers. The final vote to defeat the bill, thereby ending the Sugar Act, was 209-145. (Source: "Sugar Looks Sweet in a Free Market," *BUSINESS WEEK,* June 15, 1974, p. 28.)
- *Welfare.* Surprise! The nation's welfare system actually encourages unemployed and low income fathers to desert their families and avoid work. And the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program provides financial incentives for women to have children. These "astonishing" conclusions resulted from a study by Congress' joint fiscal policy subcommittee, based on 1972 data. The report provides detailed data on the dollar gains available—e.g., an unemployed, childless woman can double her welfare benefits, adding $1159 a year in cash and food, by having her first child. (Source: "Welfare Promotes Avoiding Work," UPI (Washington), July 22, 1974.)
- *Mail.* The costly and inefficient government postal system is getting a new challenge from private enterprise. The private National Postal Service will deliver *The Reader's Digest, McCalls,* and *Better Homes and Gardens* to eight northern California zip code areas in a year-long test, begun at the end of July, in the cities of San Mateo, San Carlos, and Redwood City. The delivery system dispenses with address labels, relying instead on computer-printed delivery lists for each magazine. National Postal Service has 2000 carriers, delivers some 10 million pieces of mail per month, and grosses $2 million per year. (Source: "Three Magazines Test Private Mail Service," AP (San Francisco), Aug. 11, 1974.)

This column reports trends in the advancement of individual liberty and the rediscovery of economic freedom. Readers are invited to submit material of potential interest.

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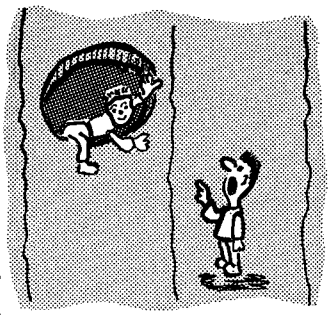

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frontlines

BACK TO THE COLLEGES

The Society for Individual Liberty will be experimenting this Fall with large advertisements in major college and university student papers. They will be built around the theme "Who Owns Your Life?". S.I.L. is particularly interested in placing the ads in college papers where a libertarian, or a group of libertarians, will be willing and able to follow up on any leads the ad produces. S.I.L. suggests that college libertarians willing to have an ad appear in their campus paper, write to them and provide an advertising rate schedule in addition to circulation details. . . In honor of the Fifth Anniversary of the founding of the present day libertarian movement, S.I.L. will be sponsoring a number of conferences around the nation in November. They plan to provide at least one top libertarian speaker at each location, in addition to local speakers. Tentative plans call for an East Coast Conference, a West Coast Conference, and conferences in the South, Southwest, and Midwest. Full details should be available from S.I.L. by the time you read this. Write to them at P.O. Box 1147, Warminster, PA 18974 for an informational brochure on the conferences.

S.I.L.'s new triumph emblem, which replaces the dollar sign emblem used previously.

YAF TEN YEARS LATER

Frontlines correspondent Tom G. Palmer reports: On the tenth anniversary of Barry Goldwater's presidential nomination, the conservative **Young Americans for Freedom** held what was billed as a gala commemoration of this event.

It got off to a nostalgic start Thursday evening with a banquet honoring **Senator Goldwater.** His speech that evening might be described as reminiscent, but the old individualist fire of 1964 was sadly lacking. Barry Goldwater just isn't what he used to be. It was as if the voice of a movement was breathing its last gasp. That campaign, which involved a number of libertarians, was the high mark of a conservative philosophy that is on the wane today.

The bright point of the evening, however, also came during that banquet. Banquet moderator and *Indianapolis Star* editor **M. Stanton Evans** announced that the **Libertarian Party** would be hosting a suite that evening, and that everyone was invited. The suite was a smashing success, crowded all that evening with conservatives curious to learn about this new party and its philosophy. During those four days, they learned plenty, thanks to the efforts of the YAF libertarian contingent, and the Bay Area libertarians who attended and helped proselytize.

By the end of the conference, the attendees had all been exposed to the fact that laissez-faire entails more than just hands off the economy, and encompasses opposition to victimless crime laws, amnesty, isolationism, etc.

Dr. John Hospers' speech was well received, with a standing ovation when he finished. It's been five years since the libertarian-conservative split that YAF experienced, and a lot has happened to America, to libertarianism . . . and to YAF.

Speakers like **Congressman Symms, Crane, Rousselot,** commentator Evans, and others constantly made reference to libertarianism in their speeches. In terms of the future of liberty, this correspondent was most enthused by the conference's conclusion. The 160 young attendees from across the country were exposed to a real philosophy of freedom, not just the rightist rhetoric about it. As more and more conservatives and liberals realize their inconsistencies, we are bound to pick up momentum. All that needs be done is to point this out to them.

Making its debut at the conference was the **California Libertarian Report,** a libertarian analysis and rating of the voting patterns of the California state legislators. Its author, **Walter Olson,** is an area director of California YAF and the vice chairman of *Yale University* YAF. The report analyzed legislators on the basis of their votes on victimless crimes, taxation, zoning, and other issues. ◻

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viewpoint

MURRAY N. ROTHBARD

THE GREENSPAN NOMINATION

The new chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers is Wall Street investment advisor Alan Greenspan. Since Greenspan is a one-time contributor to *The Objectivist,* was—and perhaps still is—a leader of the Ayn Rand movement, and has written on behalf of the free market, the Greenspan appointment was hailed in conservative and libertarian circles as a highly significant move on behalf of the free market and sound economics by the Nixon Administration. But is it; are hosannas *really* in order?

Surely, we should have learned the hard way to be far warier than all that. The Nixon Administration compiled a black record of appointing free market economists—or at least economists who had compiled a free market record *before* assuming public office—and then using them precisely to defend and apologize for a grisly series of statist and anti-free market policies. George Shultz, Paul McCracken, Herb Stein, and on and on have come in as champions of the free market and have spent most of their terms of office arguing *on behalf* of a whole raft of statist and inflationary measures. The process is known as "co-optation," cleverly designed to draw conservative and free market teeth by appointing their leaders and then inducing these appointees to swing the confused conservative masses behind policies which they would protest to the very heavens if identifiable liberals or leftists were in power. We are told, of course, that Shultz, Stein, *et al,* did their best *in private* to oppose price-wage controls or deficit spending—which does not do any of us a hell of a lot of good when these worthies then spend their energies *in public* loyally arguing on behalf of the Nixonite policies. Why should we expect Greenspan to be any better, or any more resistant to the lures and seductions of Power?

In fact, Greenspan's July 13th interview in *Business Week* does not give us much cause for hope. He comes out in favor of the current "anti-inflationary" measures of the Administration, and in particular expresses the hope for an eventual balanced budget. Nowhere in the interview does he indicate that he understands the root cause of inflation to be the expansion of the money supply by the Federal Reserve System. His misplaced emphasis on the Federal budget is a Keynesian rather than a "monetarist" (whether Austrian or Chicagoan) approach, and since the budget has only a loose relation to the continuing inflation of the money supply, we could not expect a cessation of the Administration's inflationary policies even if Greenspan's policies should prevail.

Still further, there is no reason to expect that they *will* prevail. Greenspan will be only one economist among a host of economists and government agencies. In the ultimate analysis, moreover, it is the politicians who decide economic policy, and it is the economists, as we have seen, who are expected to provide the "scientific" apologetics for measures decided on strictly political grounds. One or two free market economists appointed to government posts will not amount to a hill of beans. All it will do is to keep conservatives and free market oriented citizens confused and tied to the President's apron-strings.

And that of course was the major reason for the Greenspan appointment. It is an open secret that Nixon was relying for his political life (and perhaps, even, for staying out of jail) on conservative support in Congress. And since conservatives have historically been more impressed by rhetoric and personnel than by actual policies, what better way to insure conservative votes than by throwing them such sops as a Greenspan appointment? In the immortal words of P. T. Barnum, "there's a sucker born every minute," and conservatives have long shown themselves to be suckers for that sort of political ploy.

It will be instructive for all of us to keep close tabs on Greenspan in high office, particularly to see (a) if his public statements and official reports will be any better than those of Stein, Shultz and the rest, and (b) if he has any appreciable free market impact on government policy. My strong guess is a firm *No* to both questions.

All of this brings up vitally important questions of strategy for libertarians and free-marketeers. Just *how* do we go about expanding our educational function outward or upward to actually rolling back the tide of the Leviathan State? My view is that this cannot be done by sending a few people into high office and then hoping for some major conversion of the system. The statist system is far too strongly entrenched for that sort of maneuvering, which can only end by co-opting conservatives and libertarians to do the work of the State in defusing popular opposition to statism. The only hope is for a mass movement, for mass pressure from below, through such vehicles as the Libertarian Party and other

organizations, which will force the State to roll back its power. Any other short-cut route will only end by reinforcing State power and further diminishing the extent of individual liberty. ◻

Murray Rothbard is professor of economics at the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn. Dr. Rothbard's viewpoint appears in this column every third month, alternating with the viewpoints of Tibor Machan and David Brudnoy.

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publisher's notes

• **LIBERTARIANISM IN THE MEDIA:** There has been an increasing amount of news coverage devoted to libertarians and libertarian ideas. The laissez-faire economic views of Wall Street consultant **Alan Greenspan,** chairman-designate of the president's Council of Economic Advisers have been widely noted. *Time* called Greenspan "Supercapitalist at the CEA" (August 5) and, identifying him as a staunch advocate of Ayn Rand's philosophy of Objectivism, *Newsweek* captioned an article about Greenspan "Fundamental Fountainhead" (August 5). Ms. Rand (who objects to being labeled as a libertarian) was quoted in *Time* concerning Greenspan's new job: "I think it's an heroic undertaking."

According to the *Christian Science Monitor* (August 9), some liberal senators on the Senate Banking Committee were "deeply disturbed" over Greenspan's economic views and some call him—incredibly—"a fundamentalist mystic." Although Greenspan is frequently mislabeled as a "conservative," in general the coverage of his appointment has been fair and accurate. While no one can tell whether Greenspan's appointment will have any positive effects (see Murray Rothbard's "Viewpoint" in this issue), it does offer an effective forum for Greenspan to promote his theories in an official capacity—which is about as much as one can hope for these days in terms of a political appointment for a free-market economist.

REASON contributing editor **Murray Rothbard** was prominently featured in an excellent article in *Business Week* (August 3) about the free market theories of the "Austrian School" of economics. The article reported that an increasing number of economists are "taking another look" at the Austrian theories, and noted that some 60 economists and graduate students attended a week-long conference last June in New Hampshire, led by prominent Austrian School economists Murray Rothbard, Israel Kirzner and Ludwig Lachmann.

Meanwhile, California Governor **Ronald Reagan,** who had been a strong contender for the Republican presidential nomination in 1976 until Gerald Ford's inauguration, has indicated that, after leaving office next year, he plans to spend his time as a private citizen "traveling the mashed-potato circuit around the country, spreading the political gospel of conservatism and libertarianism." (*Los Angeles Times,* August 13.) Reagan has been a staunch conservative with some strong authoritarian tendencies (particularly in the area of national defense and nonvictim crimes), but he seems to be increasingly attracted by libertarian philosophy which he describes as "a belief in individual freedom and the reduction of government."

REASON contributing editor **John Hospers** was featured in an extensive interview in *Coast* magazine (September), which circulates primarily in Southern California. The interview comes at a good time to assist Hospers in his write-in campaign as the gubernatorial candidate of the Libertarian Party of California. Recording for the Blind, Inc. (215 E. 58th St., New York, NY 10022) is recording Hospers' book *Libertarianism* on magnetic tape, and will make the recording available without charge for the use of the blind.

The new 15th edition of *Encyclopedia Britannica* includes, for the first time, an entry on **Ayn Rand.** The article consists of two paragraphs in the Micropaedia portion of the *Britannica* and is accompanied by a photo of Ms. Rand.

Vital Speeches has recently published two free market talks, by **Benjamin Rogge,** "Will Capitalism Survive?" (July 1) and by **Edith Efron,** "The Free Mind and the Free Market" (July 15).

REASON executive editor **Robert Poole, Jr.'s** article "The Seabed Power Struggle" (July) will be reprinted in the September issue of *Mining Engineering,* edited by Eugene Guccione. Poole is also the author of a chapter on free market electric utilities in the *Vermont Citizen's Guide to Electric Power Issues,* a handbook published by the Institute for Liberty and Community (Concord, VT 05824), a libertarian-oriented policy research organization. Copies are available from the Institute at $1.00 each.

REASON contributing editor **David Brudnoy,** who authored an article on victimless crimes in last month's REASON, has an article on obscenity in the September issue of *Playgirl.*

Considering the volume of letters we have been receiving in response to REASON'S Letter-of-the-Month feature and the recent growth in REASON's circulation to the 12,000-subscriber level—which makes REASON's circulation approximately half that of *Nation* and more than 10 percent as large as *National Review* and *New Republic*—we feel quite good about the prospects for increasing public acceptance of libertarian ideas.

• **A NEW HOLIDAY:** We heartily approve of Milton Friedman's proposal for a new holiday to complement national Independence Day. As proposed in *Newsweek* (August 5), "the new holiday would celebrate our Personal Independence Day—that day in the year when we stop working to pay the expenses of government . . . and start working to pay for the items we severally and individually choose in light of our own needs and desires." The new holiday would have a variable date. According to Friedman, Personal Independence Day would have been celebrated on February 4 in 1900 (when government spending was 9.5% of national income), on March 23 in 1940, on May 23 in 1970, and if the trend continues, it will occur on July 4 in 1988 (when Friedman estimates that government spending on federal, state and local levels will comprise 50.8% of national income).

Friedman would require the date of the new holiday to be declared by Congress or the President each year, which would force one or the other to inform us—as neither does now—how much government as a whole is costing us. One advantage of the variable date is that "it would enable political candidates dedicated to enhancing our individual freedom to have an easily publicized slogan: 'Return Personal Independence Day to March 31' or whatever other date can be made to appear feasible." And if individual states inaugurate their own state Personal Independence Day, Friedman asks, "Can you think of a more attractive competition among states than for them to see which can have the honor of having its holiday the earliest?" ◻

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reason profile

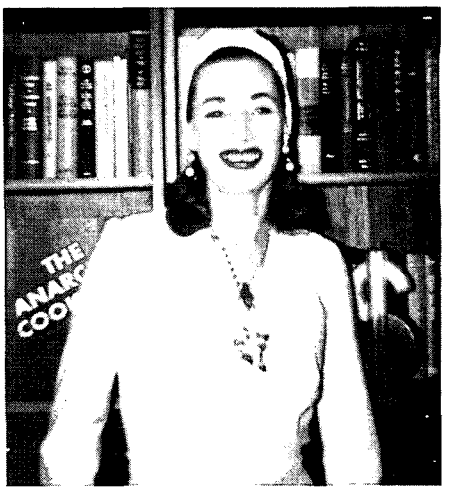
It takes a certain amount of chutzpah for an unknown, minor party candidate to run for the U.S. Senate against a famous astronaut and expect to win but Ohio Libertarian Party member Kay Harroff has never let the prospect of fighting an uphill battle stop her before.

Born in Albion, Illinois in 1930 at the start of the Depression she discovered early what work meant. "I began working when I was thirteen in a small assembly factory. I have worked for drug and department stores, a bank, publisher, church, stock broker, dress manufacturer, plumbing contractor, sales organizations, and several advertising agencies. I've been a waitress, sales clerk, typist, secretary, buyer, fund-raiser, TV writer, actress, model, house organ editor, accountant, fashion coordinator, manufacturers' representative."

A Cleveland resident, Ms. Harroff is presently owner of a wholesale gift business and designs a small line of women's clothes for several boutiques.

Ms. Harroff became active in Republican politics in the early 1950's, read Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged* in 1960, and in 1962 founded the Cuyahoga County (Cleveland, OH) Draft Goldwater Committee. After Goldwater's defeat she left the Republican Party. She heard about the Libertarian Party in 1972 and was founding chairman of the Ohio LP.

Ms. Harroff's hobbies include reading, golf, bridge, and chess. She's a member of International Toastmistress and Parents Without Partners.



KAY HARROFF

MONEY

(continued from page 31)

equal proportions of their cash and debts were wiped out, they might consider it inconvenient for the short term but recognize it as a long term net benefit.

In summary, a serious inflation can be a very disruptive phenomenon, but it appears upon inspection that it should be moderately easy for most people to get out of the way. No one is forced to hold bonds or mortgages or cash. It is unsettling and probably unfair that people, particularly retired persons, cannot depend on a constant value for the dollar, but then what else in the world has a constant value?

Inflation *can* get to the point that the crowds riot and the generals take over; a lot of things *can* happen. The point is that even our relatively certain "double digit" inflation does not necessarily lead to a breakdown of civil order. The premise of such a theory is that under those conditions "the market will not work"; we've heard that cry of "wolf" so often in the past (mainly from the statists) that our presumption ought to be against it. ◻

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Davis Keeler's Money column alternates monthly in REASON *with John J. Pierce's Science Fiction column.*

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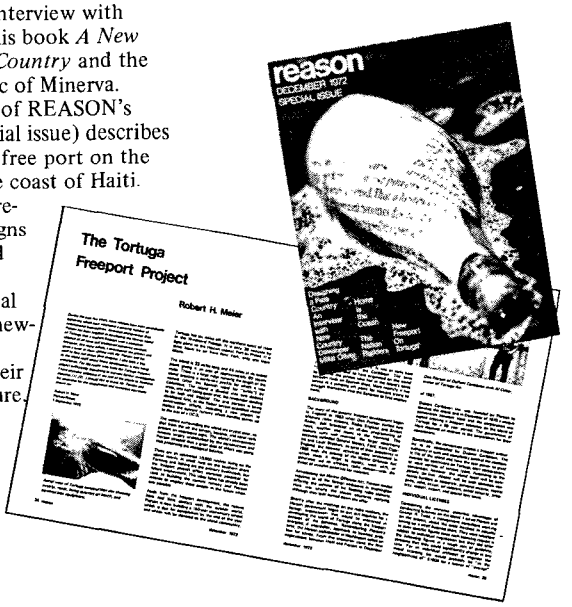

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Democrat

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—Houston I. Flournoy
Republican

"The sole legitimate function of government is the protection of the individual from force and fraud. What would I do for Californians as Governor? I'd leave them alone!"
—John Hospers
Libertarian

There's more than philosophy that separates John Hospers from Brown and Flournoy. They're on the ballot and he's not. Which means John Hospers can't win—this time. But Libertarian Party candidates *can* win in California in the future. How soon? As soon as we get on the ballot. And that's why you should write in John Hospers for Governor.

If only 120,000 of us write in Hospers this November, the Libertarian Party will have a permanent place on the ballot in California. And Californians will at last have an opportunity to vote for an explicit reduction of government interventionism rather than just the lesser of two evils.

You can help spread this message to 1,000,000 Californians by contributing to the "Hospers for Governor Mailing" that will take place two weeks prior to the election. $50 sends 1,000 letters. We need your help now!

Enclosed is my contribution to John Hospers' gubernatorial campaign.

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☐ I'm available to help with the campaign.

Make checks payable to: "Citizens for Hospers"
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letters

NASA AND AEROSPACE

I hope that articles such as Paul Siegler's "Free Space" [July] do not become common fare for the libertarian movement. If he had restricted his analysis to encompass only the history of the satellite telecommunications industry, his arguments would have been well nigh unshakable. However, he chose to include statements directed toward the aerospace industry as a whole, toward the technical and economic aspects of the Space Shuttle, and toward the overall competence and efficiency of NASA—in each case distorting the truth slightly, or dropping the context within which criticism should be evaluated.

For example, he mentions Boeing and Lockheed in the same breath, as representatives of those aerospace companies that "are no longer a part of the free enterprise system." It is true that Lockheed is contemptible because of its virtually total dependence on government subsidy, especially in the face of poor professional performance (e.g., the C-5A and L-1011). But, if anything, Boeing represents the *opposite* pole, obtaining the great majority of its profits from the sale of commercial aircraft, whose quality has become a byword in the transportation industry. To blur such distinctions is gross intellectual neglect. Furthermore, insofar as no major industry in the 20th century has functioned within "free enterprise," Siegler entirely prejudices his interpretation of the virtues and vices of the aerospace industry.

Another example of this analytical neglect is the casual way in which Siegler critiques the NASA Shuttle program, arguing instead for the adoption of a West German proposal emanating from Technologieforschung. To the uninitiated, this is no doubt impressive. When one consults this reference, however, one finds that Siegler is only expanding on a 60-word paragraph mention of a *pre*-feasibility study conducted in 1971. Prefeasibility designs are nowhere nearly as detailed as finished designs for actual production and exhibit one uniform characteristic: they are cheap only on paper. The monetary figures Siegler cites are unrealistic on the face of it, inasmuch as similar vehicles (i.e., the Titan-3C, with a payload-in-orbit of 27,000 lbs.) cost on the order of $100 million to produce—*exclusive* of developmental costs. Today, the wind tunnel testing of a complex vehicle costs in the neighborhood of $50 million. I do not mean to barrage the reader with even more data, but it must be demonstrated that Siegler is promoting a proposal which would receive skepticism even within the industry. To foist such tenuous proposals on a nontechnical readership is irresponsible.

Lastly, I must vigorously protest Siegler's shallow depiction of NASA. He rightfully criticizes the funding of NASA from taxes (though the germane issue is taxation, not the existence of NASA) and the contract policies that proved wasteful (though the "free-enterprise" contracting companies should bear the brunt of the guilt, for their deceptions). He utterly neglects to recognize NASA's exemplary record of performance, scientific achievement, technical innovation, safety, resourcefulness, and humanitarian objectives. In the context of the Federal bureaucracy, NASA is outstanding for its productivity and for the way it has actually contributed to the preservation of life and property (from medical technology spin-offs, or weather satellites, for instance). And, contrary to Siegler's critique, NASA *is* beginning to adopt Cost as a major parameter of system design and development (ref. *Astronautics & Aeronautics,* June 1974).

No intelligent libertarian should ever argue for NASA to be financed through taxation. Neither should any libertarian equate an astronaut with a tax collector, for the sake of grinding an ideological axe.

My outrage at these matters is not directed at the bulk of what Siegler says, for therein I find great agreement. My outrage proceeds from what he did *not* say—from the omissions of facts which would not reconcile well with the libertarian premise of wholly Evil government. Life is not that simple. Neither government nor any of its agencies are monolithic, exhibiting only *one* moral identity. If one is to criticize a facet of the State, it should be in the context of *both* its virtues and its vices.

Libertarians, zealous in their desire to disseminate an ideology, face the danger of neglecting to recognize the *entire* truth, by fudging their arguments in the facile manner of Mr. Siegler. They should love truth first, ideology second.

Mike Dunn
Seattle, WA

MR. SIEGLER replies: Mr. Dunn's point on the sanctity of Boeing is interesting but not valid as of the era when Boeing demanded over a half billion dollars in guaranteed loans/subsidy to build the SST.

Mr. Dunn's critique of my position vis-a-vis the aerospace industry is misleading, as a solid history of uncontrollable project costs within the industry supports my statement. To call most aerospace companies "no longer a part of the free enterprise system"—which is true—is not to say they haven't done some good things (performance). Their things just *cost* a lot more than they should.

Mr. Dunn's critique of my critique of the Shuttle program is as from a person who didn't read the article for its content and focus. My brief analysis of the Shuttle program was based on two points: cost and constraint to a tightly funded private enterprise. The alternative I mentioned was an example of *an alternative* to NASA's Shuttle—orders of magnitude lower in cost, without NASA's political constraints.

Mr. Dunn's assumption of the invalidity of Technologieforschung's prefeasibility study was made from the apparent viewpoint of one familiar only with the American aerospace industry. European aerospace companies function quite differently from their American counterparts: instead of putting masses of engineers to work on minute details of every project, they tend to use the "competent team" approach, in which a very few competent engineers work the project until relatively late in the program. Their funding situation requires a more subtle approach than the brute force technique preferred by many American companies. This has generally led to tighter control of project cost in Europe.

Mr. Dunn's comparison of Titan 3-C costs with an overseas project is contextually inappropriate. The Titan 3-C had its origins in several military defense and space programs. Almost by definition, this guaranteed a higher cost than necessary. My studies of project management and government procurement techniques lead me to believe there is an innate tendency for complex government projects to cost more than similar projects in the private sector. This is a function of many situations peculiar to government, including (but not limited to) the free money syndrome; priority of time, performance, or political pressures over cost; frequent change of requirements and specifications; monopsony (and the consequent desire of government to protect its sources at almost any cost); and lack of an objective standard to give objective value to the project in the first place. These factors are simply not as prevalent in inter-corporate con-

tracting practices.

Mr. Dunn's statement that "the germane issue is taxation, not the existence of NASA"—is silly. What is NASA without taxes? What is NASA without a government charter to raise artificial barriers and compete with business on a free service basis? If I had $33 billion to spend over a decade (NASA's budget 1960-1969), I too could come up with an "exemplary record of performance, scientific achievement, technical innovation, safety, resourcefulness, and humanitarian objectives."

But let me speak to a larger point.

I have discussed the concept of space commerce with many people. Over and over again I hear the same comments: either "NASA is no problem because it does so many good things for everyone"; or "There's no market for space enterprise, since NASA provides weather, earth resources, research, and manned space programs for free." The second answers the first, and in a sense verifies that NASA is doing a good job. Too good.

I would expect a person such as Mr. Dunn, who is a graduate research assistant (at the Aerospace Research Laboratory, University of Washington), to complain as he did of unfair treatment to NASA. His point of view is performance, technological progress. His goals—probably his dreams—are being supported and sustained by NASA's actions. Such heady projects as moonshots and Shuttles can easily blind one to means and consequences. NASA's actions are what you see. What you *don't* see is the binding of many enterprises in their attempts to otherwise expand technology in the direction of greatest value, in the direction of true market need. For NASA is not only spending free money; it is also prohibiting commercial entry in its domain; it is forcing technological focus along particular lines—its own—which have very little relation to market economics; and as a result it is distorting the natural expansion of technology. There are only so many engineers, so much money, so many projects. By skimming the cream in the short run, NASA is causing serious long-range harm to the commercialization of space.

America is entering a Golden Age of Technology. The methods used in bringing us to this age have had both expanding and binding effects. The binding effects are subtle, but very real, and are the more dangerous because the visible causes are Good. Libertarians face two tasks in general. One is to convince those in a ruthless autocracy that there is a better way; this is easy. The other is to convince those in a benevolent democracy; this is hard, for who in that society will stand against the Good?

"Free Space" stated a goal (commerce in space); identified barriers (NASA, cost, political restraints); identified some alternatives to traditional methods of entry; and defined a solution. In this context, I did not feel obliged to praise NASA or any of the other barriers. The article was a preliminary statement to action. As such, I'm satisfied.

Paul L. Siegler
Louisville, KY

MURRAY ROTHBARD'S THE GREATEST . . .

I was entertained by Murray Rothbard's latest assault on the "Left" in "Hatred of the Automobile" [REASON, July].

With the skill of a great sanitary technician, he grabs hold of his can (the question—Why does "the Left" hate big automobiles?). Waddling along, he spills only traces of the can's contents (the clues—"the Left" also hates watching football on TV, beer drinking, cigarettes, *The Sound of Music,* and split-level houses).

Laissez-moi faire! Leave me alone!

ACE of Zurich, Switzerland

announces

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TANRATAFM: There Are No Rational Alternatives To A Free Market

It is not until the final savory moment that he effortlessly lifts his can into position and lets go the big dump (the theme—". . . The Left . . . hates the bulk of the human race").

Nice job, Murray. You really got your hips into that one.

Paul Myrwang
Farmington, CT

CONSERVATIVE IMAGE?

Some time ago I wrote a letter to REASON pointing out that uncritical acceptance of "libertarian-conservatives" (or is it the other way around?) was giving libertarians a distinctly reactionary image. There was some response to this, generally chiding me for intolerance and factionalism. One reader asserted that libertarians shouldn't be concerned about images anyway—that we ought to concentrate on spreading principles, and leave the image-building to Republicans and Democrats.

It should be obvious that we are going to have some sort of image in the public eye, whether we deliberately cultivate one or not. Depending how libertarians present their ideas and their *selves*, people will either be interested in pursuing the ideas, or they will be turned off.

I suggest that to attract the most people —or perhaps the right *kind* of people—we should present ourselves as an intelligent and imaginative avant-garde. Some of the time (Branden, Efron, Szasz, etc.) we project that image, but too often we have been perceived as either conservatives or wild-eyed crackpots.

To give several examples of the latter: the more inflammatory anarchist rhetoric, and various Galt's Gulch retreatist projects, such as the Minerva episode. You may be interested in an even better example of this: the Society of Free Space Colonizers, based in Seattle. There are plenty of avowed libertarians in and around Seattle, but it seems that only the goofiest get press coverage. An article appeared on the *front page* of the Seattle *Times* (June 22) spelling out much of the libertarian philosophy—and identifying it with a group that intends to colonize the asteroids by 1990, and are presently raising the money by selling used cars!

On the other hand, many libertarians are finding it hard to shake their association with traditional culture. Ayn Rand has been the most embarrassing example of this—vehemently blasting the counterculture, feminism, the ecology movement, the LP, etc. etc. Now that Rand has been effectively disowned, we find the banner of *cultural* conservatism carried on by Mr. Rothbard.

For a long time, the only sign of this was his sniggering opposition to feminism, expressed in *BFL* and the now-defunct *Individualist*. Now he has come out praising Chevy Impalas and the beer-drinking addicts of TV football in a column ["Viewpoint," July] about transportation that scarcely concerns itself with the real issues of transportation at all. He ignores the well-known fact that automobiles are guzzling an irreplaceable resource at a rate that cannot be maintained much longer, preferring instead to take pot-shots at the Left. He dismisses bicycles with a contemptous sniff, ignoring the fact that they are cheap, healthful, and non-polluting. He has so little imagination that he seems to think that all subways will be as smelly and decrepit as the ones where he lives. In short, he comes off as a complete reactionary, pandering to the fears of "Middle America."

There is more to the question of image than the maxim "If you don't package it right it won't sell"—although that's true enough, as far as it goes. The image we present is the result of our entire cultural outlook—what we are, what role we intend to play in history, and how we intend to go about doing it. This ought to be open to a continuous re-examination

Reason's Letter of the Month

The letter below, by subscriber Ken Carberry, appeared in the July 2 issue of the *Burlington County (N.J.) Times:*

EQUALITY DISTORTED

Ever since the Declaration of Independence proclaimed that "all men are created equal," the meaning of this statement has been distorted. Our forefathers, since they were penning a political document, meant that all men are equal under the law, that a man who commits a burglary will be deemed punishable whether he is a poor, misunderstood slum-dweller, or a well-to-do political activist. They envisioned a quiet, frugal government that would consistently apply the law to all who violate the rights of others.

Today, when "progressive intellectuals" refer to this proclamation of equality, they intend it to be construed beyond its purely legal sense. "No man should eat caviar until all men can eat bread," is one of the absurd by-products of this misinterpretation. Why should one man be wealthier than another simply because he's recognized on the market as being more productive? The answer: simply because the market recognizes his greater productivity.

No man is the carbon copy of another. It is precisely this difference in talents, ambitions, and property that gives rise to the specialization of labor and the mutual profitability of inter-exchange. Were this economic inequality to be banished under the law, the logic behind the inter-exchange of goods would also be annulled. All voluntary transactions are made by virtue of the comparative differences of cost, or the inherent inequality of men and resources. No man can eat bread unless some can eat caviar.

The graduated income tax proposed by Governor Byrne proudly boasts that it intends to take from the "rich suburbs" and give to the "poor urban centers," thus wearing a halo of "equality." And in current politics, there is no measure more forcibly presented than that which cites "equality" as its goal. But it is now, perhaps for the first time, a tarnished halo. The opposition is awakening to the horrors of income equality. In the past many suburbanites smugly listened to speeches about using government measures to aid the poor more effectively, and they have said it was a noble gesture, but have thought it idle chatter. Now, while drowning in a sea of taxes to an ever-expanding, increasingly corrupt government, they are beginning to challenge the basic logic behind many government policies, the worst being the states' various attempts to equalize income. Income redistribution is a diseased and repugnant animal, falsely idolized as a sacred cow.

New Jersey voters must make their opposition to income redistribution, in the form of a graduated income tax, more keenly felt. Byrne's proposal, or any watered-down version of the same, must be rejected. Liberty and inequality have afforded to this country history's highest standard of living, yet it is these that are sacrificed in the state's constant surge for power. Instead of an additional tax, why not less government spending?

Ken Carberry
Medford Lakes, NJ

REASON subscribers are encouraged to write letters to the editor of their favorite newspaper, magazine, or journal, presenting libertarian views on topics of current interest. Each month REASON selects the most notable published letter for republication in this space, and honors the writer by a six-month extension of his or her REASON subscription. Send copies of your published letters to Reason Letter of the Month, Box 6151, Santa Barbara, CA 93111.

Did You Know . . .

That forced association is the necessary precondition to the development of mental illness?

That altruism is best understood not as an ethical doctrine but as a psychological disorder? That its acceptance is never due to logical persuasion, but rather to a desire to avoid conflict with one's forced associates?

That public education necessarily impairs the cognitive abilities of all those who are subjected to it? That most unfulfilled intellectual goals are due to procrastination, fear of revealing mistakes, and the impulse to intellectual haste? That these attributes are in turn due to years of forced confinement in the institutions of public education?

That cognitive impairments can be overcome, if you know how to go about it?

That argumentation, though widely condemned, is the basis of the development of one's ability to reason?

That the Soviets tried to produce chess masters by teaching chess in the schools, and discovered that mastery could not be taught? That this truth is valid in all fields of intellectual endeavor, not merely in chess?

That the forces which have debased the dollar and brought about rampant domestic inflation do not lead merely to economic collapse, but to nuclear war?

That the Soviet Union has recently massed sixty divisions on the Chinese border? That the number of Russian tanks in Central Europe has been increased from 14,000 to 20,000—giving the Warsaw Pact forces a better than 3-to-1 advantage over NATO? That such massing of forces is grossly disproportionate to what the Soviets would require if they were intended, as they say, for defensive purposes?

That the Soviet SS-9 missile delivers a payload which is many times larger than would be needed to destroy even the world's largest city—that its only conceivable purpose is to destroy hardened U.S. missile silos? That there is no need to destroy our silos if they are empty—and that if they are *not* empty, the Soviets are attacking first?

That the Soviet "siege mentality" which our liberals urge us to cure by unilaterally disarming is in fact not due to external pressure exerted on the Soviet Union, but rather to the GULAG system—the secret police, the torture chambers, the death camps, and the non-objective law—which ensures that only paranoiac madmen can ever reach the top of the Soviet administrative hierarchy?

That it is impossible to control a foreign nation without the capability to send troops across its borders, and that this means the Birch Society's idea of a single, global conspiracy cannot be correct? That the idea that the CFR controls the Soviet Union via an unseen watchdog agency leads to a well-known type of logical fallacy? That each such unseen watchdog requires yet another watchdog to watch it, and so on, ad infinitum?

That "democracy or dictatorship" is a false dichotomy? That there exist numerous electoral systems which are superior to "one man-one vote"? That a system whereby you vote with your tax receipt would automatically prevent the currently popular practice of heaping taxes on the productive minority—since under such a system "heaping taxes" means "heaping votes"?

That DDT, much maligned and banned by the EPA, is probably history's greatest saver of human life?

That human waste amounting to millions of tons per year is winding up in the oceans rather than being recycled back to the farm and grazing lands from which it originated? That this vast process is ruining the land and, as a consequence, is steadily eroding the nutritional quality of the food you eat? That the root cause of this problem is the fact that rivers and oceans are "public domain"—i.e., are not privately owned?

That the Sahara, the world's largest desert, is man made? That nomadic overgrazing denudes the land of vegetation, that sunlight on the resulting bare earth generates a perpetual thermal which spreads at higher altitudes and keeps rainclouds pushed away? That the entire Sahara, in time, could be turned into productive farm and ranch land simply by turning it over to private ownership?

That the chlorine which municipal governments add to the water you drink reacts with saturated fats in the blood, forming a sticky agglutinant which adheres to the walls of your arteries? That it is the cause of the atherosclerotic diseases which kill in excess of one million Americans each year?

That statistical attempts to demonstrate that punishment does not deter crime all rest upon a single fundamental logical fallacy—a fallacy which you can master and use against the advocates of so-called "rehabilitation"?

That the FDA kills more people than it saves? That by delaying marketing of the immense majority of drugs which are both safe and effective, the FDA causes needless human suffering and loss of life? That such costs vastly outweigh the benefits which accrue when an occasional unsafe or ineffective drug is discovered?

That welfare programs do not merely violate property rights, but that they kill more people than they save?

That restrictions on immigration do not raise wages, but lower them, since those immigrants who become employers add more to the demand for labor than the others add to the supply of it?

That mercury pollution is largely a myth and that oceanic mercury levels were higher a thousand years ago than they are today?

These and many other ideas have been discussed in past issues of *The New Individualist*, or will be discussed in future issues. Every one of them, we will freely admit, is debatable. You may not agree with us on every point. But we think you will be surprised at the extent to which these unfamiliar and often shocking positions *can* be defended. And you will also be surprised at the implications which many of them have for your own life and happiness. If you are interested and want to hear more so you can decide for yourself and, perhaps, take appropriate steps should you decide we are right, then we hope that you will subscribe today. For a limited time we are offering a six-month trial subscription (six issues) at the special low rate of only $3.00. We hope that you will join us!

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instead of being shunted aside or tacitly assumed.

The image we project is a good indicator of the health of the movement. If it is unfortunately true that libertarians often appear to be crackpots or conservatives, the answer is that many of them probably are.

Bruce Ramsey
Everett, WA

KUDOS

Congratulations and compliments on your August 1974 issue. To me, this was one of your best. I especially enjoyed your interview with Peter Breggin, and I thought John Hospers' article on "The Life and Death of New York" was beautifully done.

Nathaniel Branden, Ph.D.
Los Angeles, CA

CITY INCOME TAXES

It is no sense of pleasure that requires me to correct one statement in John Hospers' recent article about New York City [August]. Hospers states that New York City "alone among the cities of the U.S. exacts a city income tax on top of the other two (state and federal income taxes)."

Currently Cleveland, Columbus and many other Ohio cities are exacting city income taxes on top of a state income tax. This trend for imposing municipal income taxes on top of Federal and state income taxes is spreading across the nation. In California the City of Oakland is trying to evade the provision in the State Constitution which prohibits a municipal income tax. Oakland is calling their income tax a "payroll tax" in the hope of avoiding this constitutional restriction.

Unfortunately when Dr. Hospers discusses the problems of New York he is attributing a negative characteristic to taxation in New York City which is also shared, and being spread to, other cities and many other taxpayers across the U.S. Municipal income taxes are rapidly becoming the rule, rather than the exception to the rule.

Karl E. Peterjohn
Sacramento, CA

SUPER PEOPLE

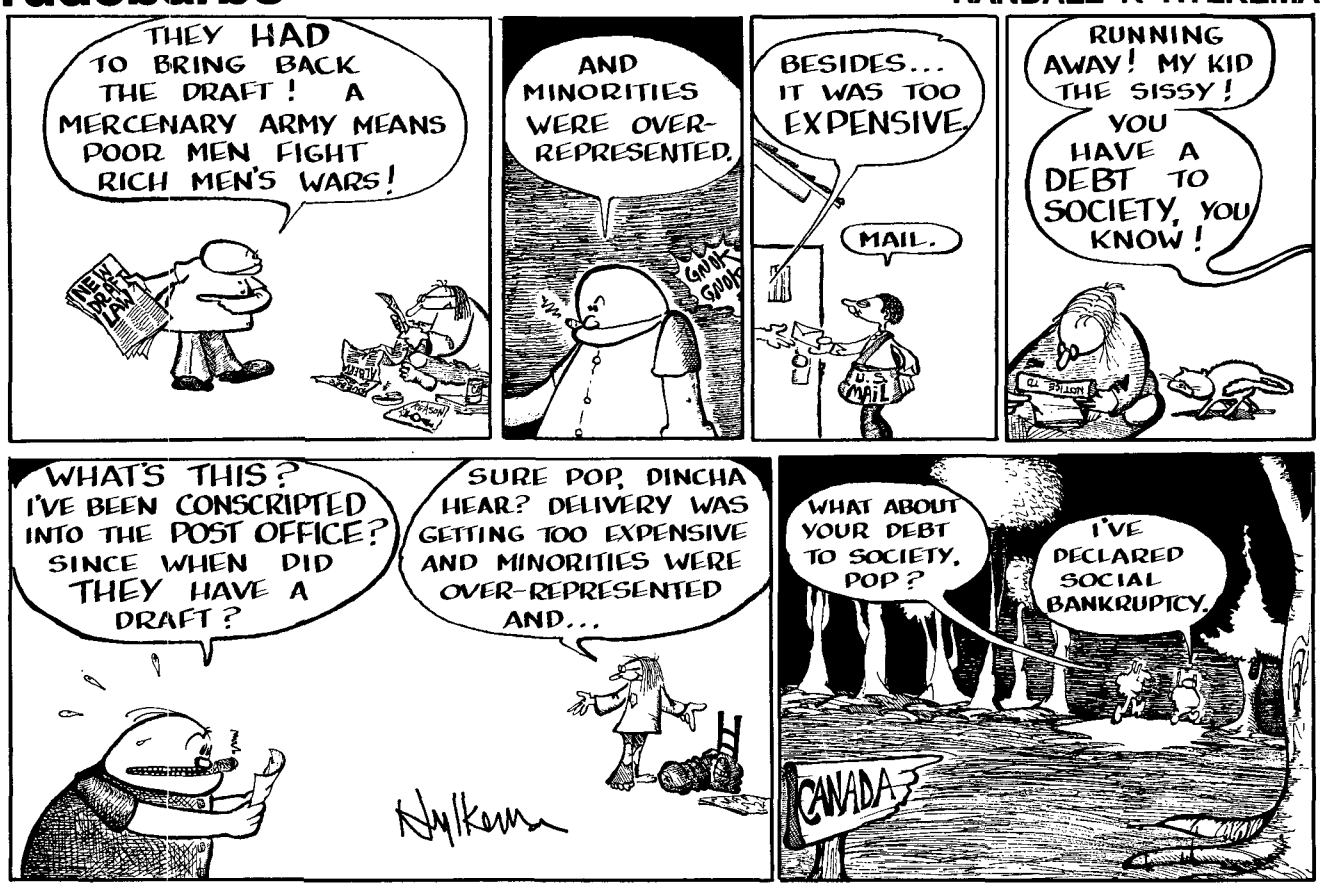
What's the deal here? Each month the *Profiles* feature gets stranger and stranger. I can't really believe those people do all those things. I suppose September's will run like this:

Ms. X, an associate professor of nuclear chemistry, also is the local chapter leader of the Libertarian Party and chemical-biological warfare advisor to the Anarchist Liberation Army. She graduated from Vassar at fifteen and took post-graduate work in six countries. Besides completing her first novel, Try And Get It, *and publishing her now-famous paper "Getting the most from your Hydroxyl-group," she also found time to act as a rocket-sled test pilot for McDonnell-Douglas, and drive her Porsche 917F to her second consecutive Can-Am series award. Asked by our REASON correspondent how she packs so much into her spare time, she answered, "Gee, I dunno." When not playing jai alai out on the university fronton, Ms. X is home practicing her hobbies—finishing her violin concerto in A minor, playing with her black panther, "Kitty," or whipping up one of the recipes that won her an honorable mention in the 1973 Pillsbury Bake-Off.*

All kidding aside, it's hard to imagine how one person can do so much. Libertarians seem to come off better than most in this regard. Most people are just sitting around spinning their wheels.

Mike Robison
Pacifica, CA

rudebarbs **RANDALL K HYLKEMA**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BESIDES... IT WAS TOO EXPENSIVE.
MAIL.
RUNNING AWAY! MY KID THE SISSY!
YOU HAVE A DEBT TO SOCIETY, YOU KNOW!
WHAT'S THIS? I'VE BEEN CONSCRIPTED INTO THE POST OFFICE? SINCE WHEN DID THEY HAVE A DRAFT?
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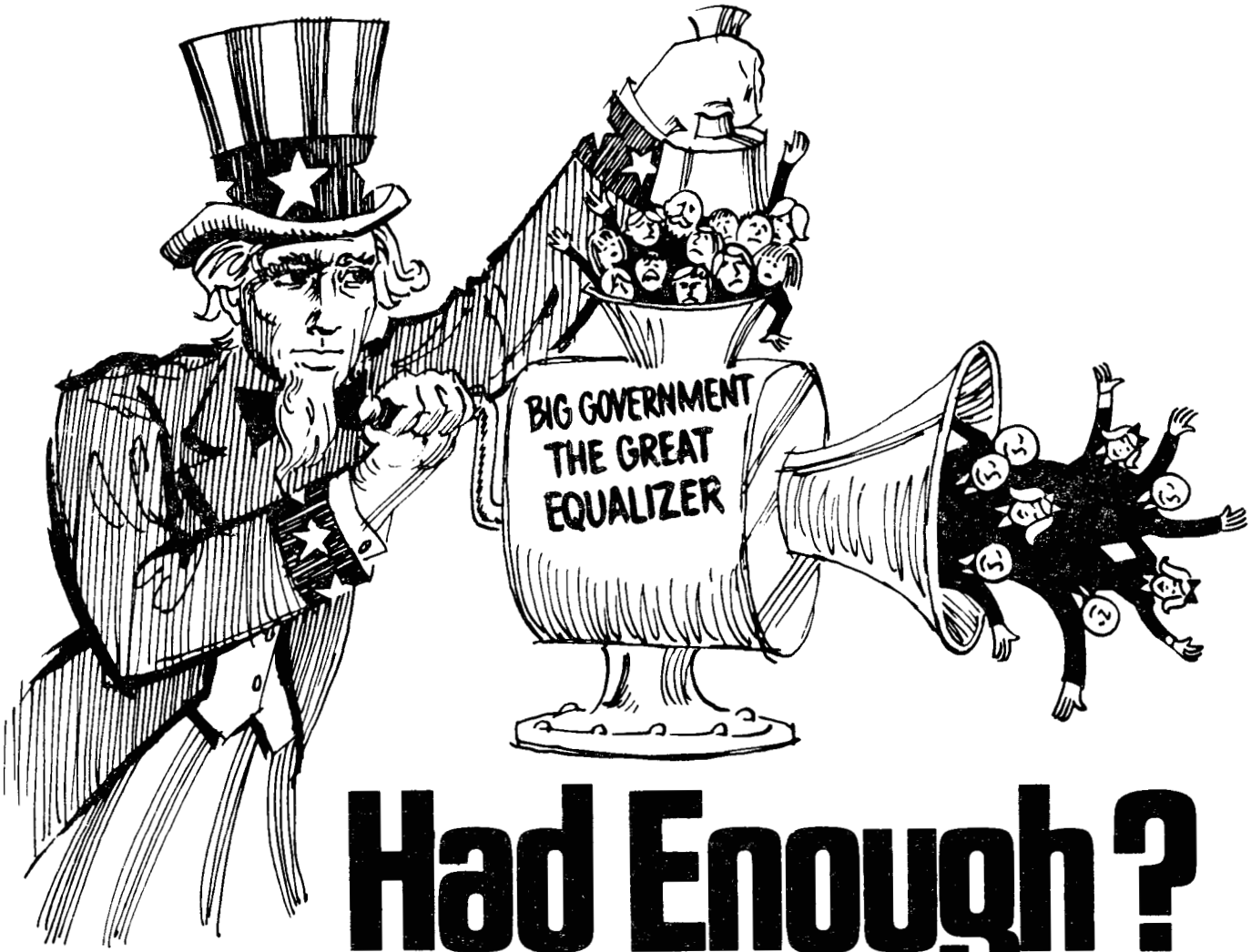
WHAT ABOUT YOUR DEBT TO SOCIETY, POP?
I'VE DECLARED SOCIAL BANKRUPTCY.
CANADA



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PERSONAL

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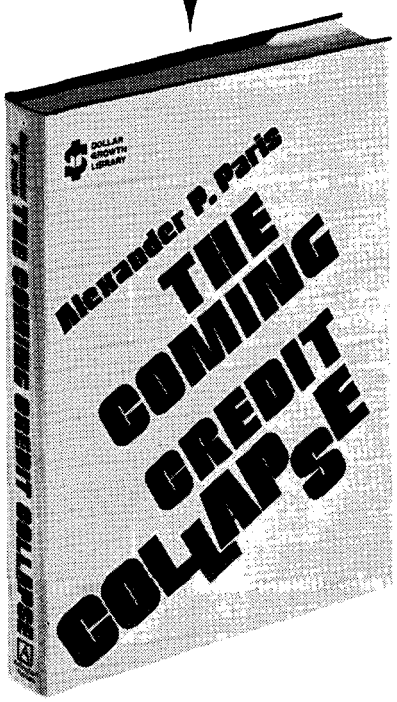

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